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Names of ships should be underlined to denote *italics*, and not written within inverted commas.

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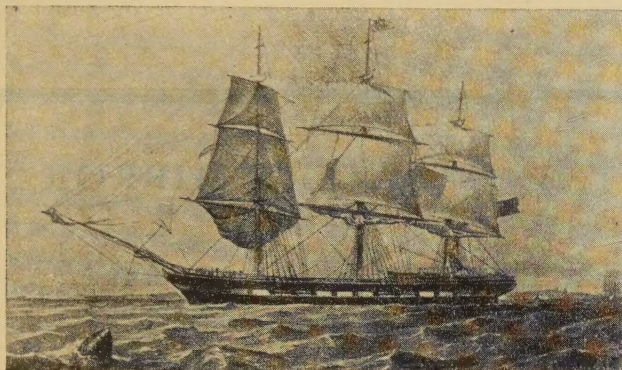
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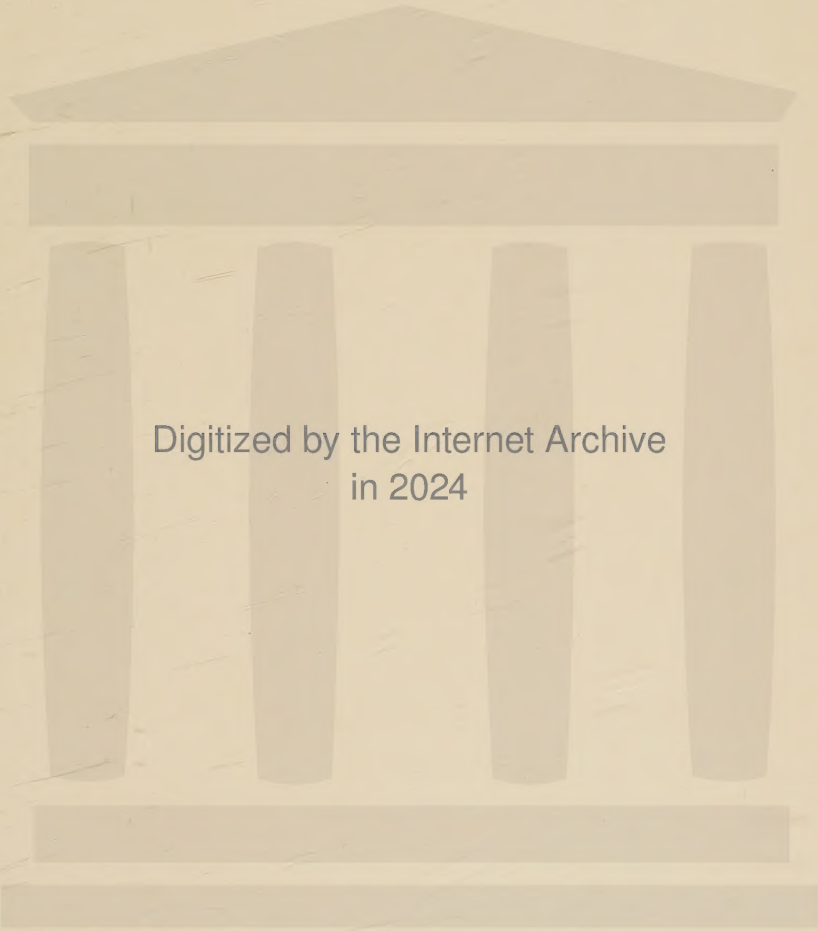
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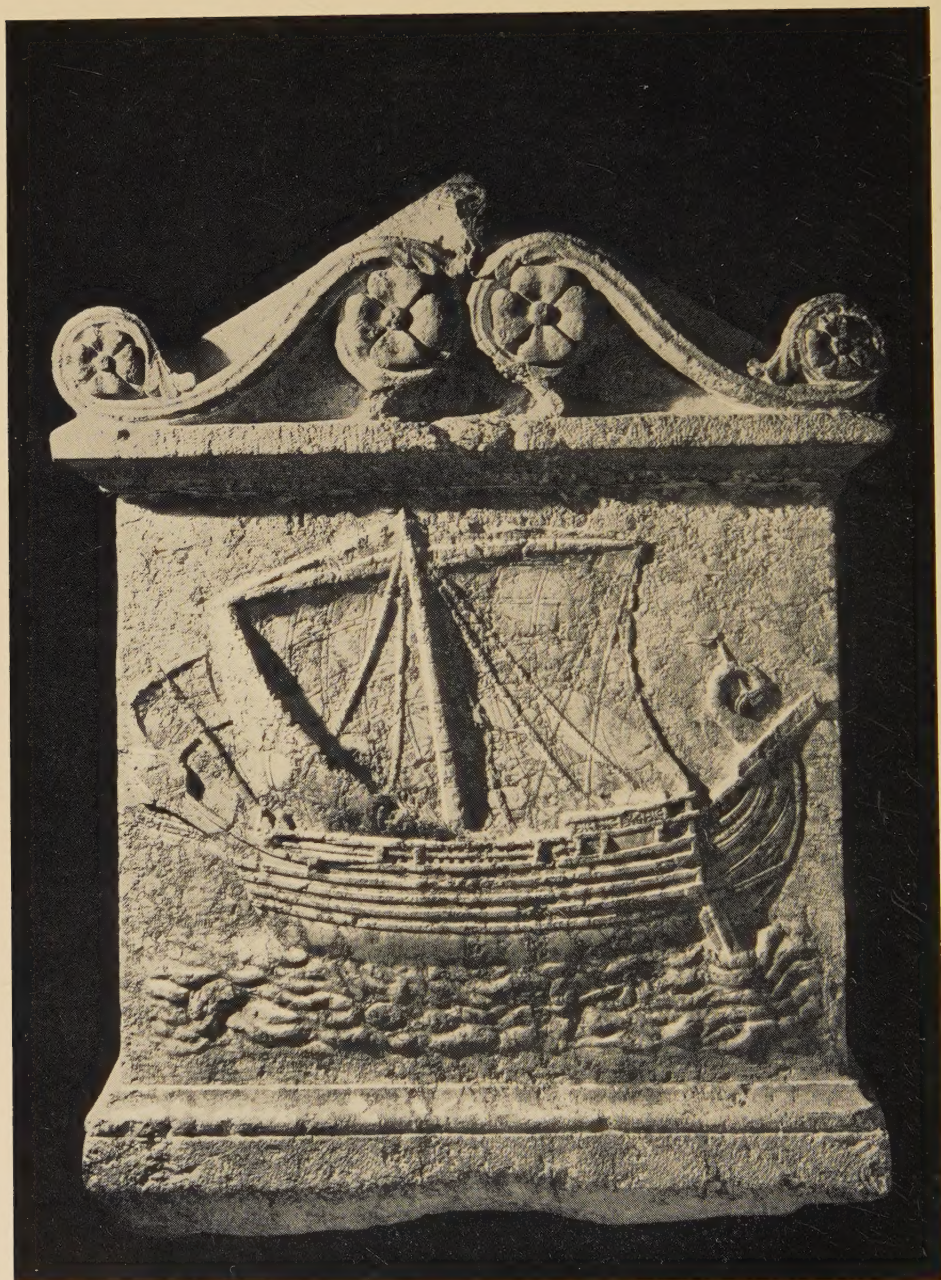
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THE SIDON CARVING

From a sarcophagus found in Sidon and now in the Beyrout Museum (see note p. 77).

(Frontispiece)

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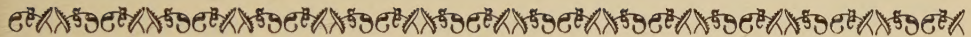
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*after the manner of their
use in all ages and
among all
Nations*



VOL. 43. No. I

1957



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OBITUARY

The news has been received with great sorrow of the sudden death of Mr Basil Lavis on 17 December 1956, at the age of 63. Himself an Old Pauline, he had been assistant librarian at St Paul's School for the last ten years. He served as Paymaster-Lieutenant, R.N.V.R., in the war of 1914-18. He was closely connected with several nautical clubs such as the 'Shiplovers', and had been a member of 'The Anchorites' for 28 years, and their treasurer for six. He was much interested in the ship-model societies and must have been a well-known figure when he frequently acted as steward at the 'Model Engineer' annual exhibitions. He was a constant supporter of the work carried out on board the *Implacable* and *Foudroyant*.

Basil Lavis had been a member of the Society for Nautical Research for 30 years and was elected to the Council in 1955. He was probably best known to us for his tremendous enthusiasm for the *Victory*, and he seldom missed attending the Trafalgar Day service on board the ship held every year. His genial and popular character will be very greatly missed by a host of friends, and the loss to our Society is deeply regretted.

H. P. MEAD

MERCHANTMEN UNDER SAIL 1815-1932

By the late Basil Lubbock

*Illustrated by Commander C. H. Williams,
R.D., R.N.R.*

SOME day, so scientists tell us, it may be possible to tap the wireless waves of past events. If only our vision could be stimulated to such a pitch, how enthralled we should be by the glorious pageantry of mast and sail which filled our British waters during the period under review! At the seaside in these days, so deserted is even the English Channel or the North Sea of ships, that we rush for a telescope at the first appearance of smoke upon the horizon. Yet many of us can remember when the London docks were a forest of spars, when it was impossible to see the yellow Thames water for hulls in the Pool of London, and when the coasts of Albion were thronged with sail, either tiding along the shore or making the best of a fair wind in mid-channel.

At the time of the Battle of Waterloo only the lordly East Indiamen of the Honourable Company exceeded 1000 tons in burden: even 700 tons was considered a big lump of a ship, and brigs and schooners of less than 300 tons carried valuable cargoes to every part of the world.

During the Napoleonic wars immense fleets of British merchantmen were convoyed even as far as the Cape.

Here is a report taken from the *Naval Chronicle*: 'Plymouth: 10th December, 1800. Passed by to the Westward the immense large fleets for Oporto, the Straits, Lisbon and the West Indies, nearly 550 sail; under convoy of the *Sea Horse* of thirty-six guns; *Maidstone*, 32; *Alliance*, 44; *Chichester*, 44; *Serapis*, 44; *La Pique*, 44; *Harpy*, 18; and *Dromedary*, 24: a dead calm took them aback off the Eddystone and the whole horizon was covered with the floating commerce of Albion's proud isles.'

Since that date the world has seen the method of ship propulsion by the winds reach its zenith, only to be superseded at the height of its glory by the steam and oil engines.

In attempting to review the period which, in a publication of 1922, I dubbed *The Golden Age of Sail*, it is only possible in the space at my disposal to touch on the most important features of our sailing mercantile marine's development.

In 1815 the term 'Merchant Service' referred only to the vessels of the Honourable East India Company; those broad-beamed, lofty-rigged Indiamen, which carried crews of 130 picked men, reefed topsails at nightfall, made one voyage out East every other year and made the fortunes of their Commanders in a matter of three successful voyages.

We make a great mistake if we think that these lumbering, bluff-bowed, deep-draft Indiamen were slow. I will admit that they were leewardly; but given a fair wind when they could set their stunsails, it took a fine-lined frigate to get by them. Indeed their passage records make astonishing reading.

In the 1830's the *Parkfield* was only seventy-five days from Liverpool to Bombay. The *Castle Huntley* made the same passage in seventy-seven days from Torbay; and the famous *Earl of Balcarres* in seventy-nine days from London.

In 1826 the *Thomas Coutts*, an Indiaman of 1334 tons, launched from the Blackwall Yard in 1817, and a three-skysail-yarder, went from London to Bombay in eighty-two days; and in 1820 the *Lord Wellington* went from London to Calcutta in the same time. As an instance of a homeward passage, let me cite the *Thames*, immortalized by E. W. Cooke, R.A. She left China on 18 November 1831, passed Java Head on 5 December, St Helena on 28 January 1832 and arrived off Portland on 13 March, 115 days from China.

At their zenith, that is to say in 1833, when the Company's charter for the China trade expired, there were about fifty of these superb ships, the largest of which were the *Windsor* of 1577 tons, *Lowther Castle* of 1562, *Reliance* of 1527, *Farquharson* of 1471 and *Berwickshire* of 1461.

The way in which these majestic Indiamen were run is well known. The allowance of space for private trade was so handsome that not only commanders, but surgeons, witness Sir Robert Wigram and Doctor William Jardine, made large profits on their ventures. The crews were treated in what became known as 'Blackwall Fashion'; and the passengers, though they furnished their own cabins and were obliged to bargain with the captain himself as to the amount of passage money (for it went into his pocket), were provided with wine and beer gratis, an item of no small importance in those days of heavy drinking.

When the Company's monopoly came to an end, these Indiamen were sold for large sums, the *Thames* and *Earl of Balcarres* realising £10,700 and the *Lowther Castle* as much as £13,950; these were very high prices in those days.

The successors of John Company's Indiamen were the little Blackwall frigates of Green, Wigram, Smith, Joseph Somes and Duncan Dunbar. These troopers and passenger ships of the 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties were the product of the London, Sunderland and Indian Yards. Shaped like serving mallets, as the late Captain Boulton Whall declared, they were

hard-wood ships, built of oak and teak, and were as carefully constructed and as liberally run as the best of their predecessors.

The first of the Blackwall frigates was the *Seringapatam*, built in the Blackwall Yard in 1837 and registering 818 tons. The old 'Seringy', noted all over India for her famous figurehead of Tippoo Sahib, was renowned for her regular passages under the veteran Captain James Furnell, later the well known superintendent of Green's Sailors' Home.

About a dozen London passenger ships were built on the lines of the *Seringapatam*. Then, in 1842, the Blackwall Yard launched the sister ships *Queen* and *Prince of Wales* of 1223 tons, which in their turn were outclassed two years later by Green's *Monarch* of 1444 tons, which was pierced for fifty guns, considered equal to a first-class frigate, had thirty cabins for passengers and a dining-saloon 36 ft. in length. She was not equalled in the Eastern passenger trade until Smith's *Marlborough* and *Blenheim* came out in 1846 and 1848. These 1400-ton sisters were presented at the Great Exhibition of 1851 with silk ensigns and house flags for being the finest ships in the British Merchant Marine.

Though these Blackwall frigates were not fast to windward, their performances when off the wind were truly astonishing, and a few examples should be of interest.

The little *Hotspur*, whose utmost speed was reckoned at twelve knots, once averaged 230 miles a day for nineteen days. It will be remembered that this ship was commanded by the well-known Captain Henry Toynbee, one of the most scientific sailors of his day. (Later he was marine superintendent of the Meteorological Office.)

The *Anglesey*, another little 1000-ton frigate, holds the record for the greatest twenty-four-hour run, made on 29 May 1871, from 48°29 S., 32°51 E. Her officers called it 418 miles; but, in pricking it off, I cannot make it more than 380. The *Clarence*, one of the fastest of the Sunderland-built Blackwallers, made a run of 372 miles when bringing the 69th regiment home in 1864. Her sister ship, the *Alnwick Castle*, held the record for the run from the Channel to the Sandheads, which she did in sixty-eight days. Another good twenty-four-hour run was made by Wigram's *Lincolnshire*: namely 368 miles, in 1860, when she made the passage home from Melbourne in seventy-seven days. This was beaten by the *Norfolk* in 1869, her time being seventy-two days from Melbourne to Dungeness, after going out in seventy-four days. The *Suffolk* in 1860 ran out to Melbourne in seventy days.

Perhaps the most astonishing passages ever made by a Blackwall frigate were those of the *Northfleet*. Let me quote from a letter of Duncan Dunbar to the editor of *The Times*, dated 3 February 1859: 'The sailing ship *Northfleet*, belonging to me, arrived at Hong Kong from the Start Point,

with troops, in 89 days; having the previous voyage made the same run in 88 days.' These remarkable records were made under Captain B. Freeman.

Wigram's *Kent*, when commanded by Captain Matthew T. Clayton, distinguished herself in 1862 by beating the famous tea clippers *Robin Hood* and *Falcon* from the Line to the Downs.

Captain Clayton was an enterprising commander. Once, when becalmed in the tropics, he rigged stages, about 2 ft. above the water, and, with the ship's fiddler scraping away, manned fifteen oars aside in an attempt to row his 1000-ton ship. After rowing steadily for two days with constant splicing of the main brace, the *Kent* ran into a breeze.



East Indiaman *Thomas Coutts* 1826

One of the finest, as well as the fastest, teak-built troopers ever launched was Willis's *The Tweed*, which in 1852 began her career from a Bombay slip as the Indian Marine cruiser *Punjaub*. Under Captain William Stuart, who taught Joseph Conrad his seamanship, *The Tweed* not only made a number of fine passages but earned a fortune for her lucky owners.

The last of the Blackwall frigates were built for the booming Australian passenger and emigrant traffic. Of such were the ill-fated *Dunbar*, *Agamemnon*, *La Hogue*, *Parramatta*, *Superb*, *Carlisle Castle* and *Macquarie*. These last three were iron ships. As long as Dicky Green was alive, no such monstrosity as an iron ship was allowed to be laid down in the Blackwall Yard.

Contemporary with the later East Indiamen of the Hon. John Company and with the Blackwall frigates were the American- and Canadian-built packet ships, which carried emigrants across the Atlantic and, from the 'fifties onwards, to the Colonies.

'The Western Ocean Packets', the designation of the American soft-wood ships, flying the house flags of the Black Ball (Charles H. Marshall), Swallow Tail (Grinnell, Minturn and Co.), White Diamond (Enoch Train), Red Star (Byrnes Grimble and Co.), Black X (Captain E. E. Morgan), Black Star (Williams and Guion), etc., flourished from the 'twenties to the 'sixties.

Though short and deep, they were sharp-lined ships, and, beautifully sailed by such famous captains as Samuel Samuels, Ezra Nye, Joseph C. Delano, Nat. B. Palmer, W. G. Furber, Tucker, Bully Hall and others, their records were often astonishing.

The most notable passage-maker was, of course, the Red Cross liner *Dreadnought* under Captain Samuels. A 1400-ton ship, she was launched at Newburyport on the Merrimac in 1853.

The early builders of these packets were Smith and Dimon and Brown and Bell; then came the New York wonder, William H. Webb, and his Boston rival Donald McKay. Webb built the speedy *Fidelia*; but it was Enoch Train, owner of the White Diamond Line, who gave Donald McKay his chance with the order for the well-known *Joshua Bates*. McKay afterwards built the three-deckers *New World*, *Daniel Webster*, *Staffordshire*, *Chariot of Fame*, and others.

These were big ships, but some of the smaller deserve mention: such as the *Emerald*, 359 tons, Captain Phil Fox, of the Boston Jewel Line, which reached Boston Light from Liverpool in seventeen days; the *Toronto*, 631 tons, Captain Tucker, which battled through the ice in 1846 and reached New York ahead of the Cunarder, and was the first vessel to arrive in that port for six weeks. It was declared on 'change that if Tucker had been put up for President, he would have been elected unanimously.

Then there was the *Columbus*, 597 tons, which in 1837, under Captain Palmer, beat the new Dramatic liner *Sheridan* of twice her tonnage, and won a stake of 40,000 dollars.

Dreadnought and *Guy Mannering* both claimed East-bound passages of under ten days, though these have never been satisfactorily verified.

While the Yankee packets had the Liverpool, London and Havre routes to themselves, the Scottish trade with Canada was in the hands of shrewd, hardworking, Lowland Scots, such as the Allans, Gilmours and Rankins.

The pioneer ship is said to have been the brig *Jean* which Captain Alexander Allan took across to Quebec in 1822. Six years later the Allan brothers started a regular service with four ships, the *Canada*, *Favourite*, *Caledonia* and *Albion*.

The *Robertson*, Captain Neil, was the first ship to make three voyages to Quebec in one season. This was in 1832. The little iron 800-tonner, *Glennifer*,

commanded by the famous Captain R. S. Tannock and launched from Barclay Curles yard in 1866, actually made four trips in a single season.

Tannock was a passage maker. It will be remembered that he took command of the schooner-yacht *Cambria* for her race across the Atlantic. He afterwards made wonderful times in the *Abeona*, 979 tons, built by Stephen, and the *Pomona*, 1200 tons, built by Steele.

There is one other class of ships which traded across the Atlantic which should receive mention. I mean the timber droghuers or lumbermen. The pioneers in Canada were mostly Lowland Scottish. At first the timber droghuers were British-built; but in a very short while men like Allan Gilmour were setting up their own building yards in every suitable spot on the Canadian coast. Even as early as 1824 the Canadian timber fleet was a huge one, Pollock Gilmour's share being seventy-eight vessels, running up to 700 tons.



Blackwall frigate *Lincolnshire*

Finding that it was always easier to tow a log thick-end first, the Canadian shipwrights built their ships on the plan of 'cod's head and salmon tail'. With timber to be had for the cutting, these lumbermen were constructed of rock elm, white oak and pine and cost little to build; but, as to-day, they had to compete with the Russians, who were fed on black bread and stock fish, costing fourpence or fivepence a day, whereas Englishmen could not be fed under a shilling a day. However, the trade prospered, and by 1850 there were more timber droghuers than any other ships in the Liverpool Docks; and it was no unusual thing, after a spell of contrary winds, to see fifty or sixty timber ships coming up the Mersey.

One of these Quebec timber ships, a three-decker built in 1851 and registering 1625 tons, became the record-breaker, *Marco Polo*. She was bought very cheap in Liverpool by a shrewd little man named James Baines. He put her in charge of a captain who had yet to make his name, James Nicol Forbes. The latter sailed from Liverpool on 4 July 1852 with 930 emigrants on board and anchored inside Port Phillip Heads at 11 a.m. on 18 September after a record passage of sixty-eight days. On 26 December, a Sunday, the *Marco Polo* anchored in the Mersey, seventy-six days out from Melbourne, and only five months and twenty-one days on the whole voyage.

This voyage founded the fortunes of James Baines's 'Black Ball' Line, which must not be confused with Marshall's New York 'Black Ball' Line.

With the gold fever raging in the British Isles in the 'fifties such a boom took place in British shipping that firms could not build fast enough, and orders for the quickly built soft-wood flyers of the States and Canada were hurried across the Atlantic.

By the 'fifties William H. Webb, Donald McKay, Sam Hall and other builders had already roused the envy of European naval architects with their Yankee clippers.

The history of the clipper still requires to be written. The fast sailing ship has been developed along various lines and many of these lines never meet, so that one cannot trace its history from a single type nor can one amalgamate several types into one supreme outstanding model.

The first clipper model was that known as the *Baltimore*. This was really only suited to small craft—rakish brigs and schooners which worked in risky trades. But this model has no influence upon the Yankee clippers of the late 'forties and early 'fifties, the pioneer of which was the *Rainbow*, of 750 tons, launched in January 1845 and designed by Griffith, a draughtsman in Smith and Dimon's drawing loft.

The *Rainbow*'s chief characteristics were concave water lines, great dead rise, wall sides and a light cutaway stern. She was probably the first vessel to be really wet in a sea way. Right up to her date, water on deck was not usual. Columbus, Drake, Dampier, Cook, and even the captains of the Blackwall frigates had no experience of swept decks, such as were common aboard the clippers and carriers of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Could Columbus have seen a 2000-ton barque's maindeck when running her Easting Down, he would have held up his hands in horror and amazement. The ship right up to 1840 and even later was a buoyant tub that bounced over the waves. But with the Yankee clipper came the new method of cutting through the waves.

The first American clippers were very lightly built and worked like an old torpedo boat in a sea-way; this promoted speed but it shortened the

ship's life. The famous *Sea Witch*, Bully Waterman's best known command, broke her back by sailing into a mud spit in the Canton River, so weak was her construction. But until she became water-soaked there were few of her successors to touch her.

The Yankee clippers increased in strength as rapidly as they increased in size, until Donald McKay, according to his compatriots, went beyond all reason with his unfortunate 4555-ton (American rule) four-master *Great Republic*. This ship's mainmast from deck to truck was 228 ft. long, her mainyard 120 ft. long and she spread 15,653 square yards of canvas. She had four laid decks with 8 ft. of head-room between each.



Clipper ship *Lightning*, built 1853

In America Donald McKay's name as a genius in ship designing stands above all others. Yet this is by no means just to such outstanding designers as William H. Webb, Sam. Hall, Paul Curtis, J. A. Westervelt, George Raynes and Samuel A. Pook; for their models were in no way inferior to those of Donald McKay.

In 1850-1 McKay produced *Staghound*, 1535 tons, *Flying Cloud*, 1793 tons, and *Flying Fish*, 1505 tons; W. H. Webb's contribution at the same date was *Celestial*, 860 tons, *Challenge*, 2006 tons, *Comet*, 1836 tons, and *Swordfish*, 1036 tons.

Sam. Hall's fastest ship was *Surprise*, 1361 tons. Paul Curtis was responsible for *Witchcraft*, 1310 tons, whilst Westervelt designed the *N. B. Palmer*, 1490 tons, and George Raynes the *Sea Serpent*, 1337 tons, and *Witch of the Wave*, 1500 tons. Pook's masterpiece was of course the *Red Jacket*, bought by the British White Star Line.

It was the wonderful sailing of *Flying Cloud* which really gave Donald McKay a hoist above his fellow naval architects. Then the performance of the *Sovereign of the Seas* on her maiden voyage added to his reputation, which reached its zenith with the four giant clippers built for James Baines, namely, *Lightning*, *Champion of the Seas*, *James Baines* and *Donald McKay*.

The *Lightning*, when commanded by Captain Anthony Enright, made a 430 twenty-four-hour run in March 1857; but she also claims the biggest sailing-ship run ever made—436 miles in March 1854, when crossing the Atlantic on her maiden passage. There is some slight doubt, however, about this calculation; though it was certainly within her power. The extract from her log book reads: 'March 1. Wind South: strong gales. Bore away for the North Channel: carried away the fore topsail and lost jib: hove the log several times and found the ship going through the water at the rate of 18 to 18½ knots: lee rail under water and rigging slack. Distance 436 miles.'

The greatest speed through the water is claimed by the *James Baines* with the following log entry: 'Ship going 21 knots with main skysail set.' These big claims have been laughed at by many a seaman, who has never seen a sailing ship log more than sixteen knots. But there is plenty of evidence to prove that several of these big American-built emigrant ships made twenty-four-hour runs of over 400 miles. The *Red Jacket*, for instance, records 417 on 19 January 1854, and 413 on 27 February 1854. *Donald McKay* claimed 421 miles on 27 February 1855, and *Marco Polo* and *Shalimar* both claimed runs of 420. The *White Star*, the biggest ship ever built by Wright of New Brunswick, when running East in 1860, covered 3306 miles in ten days between the Cape and the Otway.

No British sailing ship ever built has touched these high figures. Yet they were not so much the result of clever designing, but that of a light high side with a live cargo, great strength of gear and the power to stand driving before a gale of wind.

The *Lightning* was handicapped by such hollow bowlines that she raised a wave like a destroyer; and when James Baines, acting on the advice of Captain Enright, wisely had the hollow filled in, Donald McKay complained bitterly of the Liverpool wood butchers.

In glancing through a Lloyd's Register of the 'fifties or 'sixties, one cannot help but be struck by the number of big full-riggers launched from the Nova Scotian, New Brunswick and Quebec yards. These 'Blue Nose' craft, as they were christened by sailormen, were chiefly engaged in the lumber trade; but at least a couple of hundred of them, of from 900 to 1500 tons, carried passengers and cargoes to India, Australia and New Zealand.

They were well, if cheaply, built—mostly 'on spec' by their builders—and

were generally sent over to Liverpool to be sold. There they were coppered, and very often refitted internally for passengers and emigrants.

Some of these Canadian soft-wood ships were very fast. One has only to remember such names as *Marco Polo*, *White Star*, *Star of the East*, *Indian Queen*, *Morning Star*, *Elizabeth Ann Bright*, *Mistress of the Seas* and *Legion of Honour*. Like their American sisters, however, they soon became strained and water-soaked, and Lloyds only classed them for seven years A. 1.

As the golden boom years passed and the need for economy and carrying power grew more important, the Canadian yards gradually superseded their fine-lined clippers by full-bodied carriers.

The same thing happened on the Maine coast and farther south. The successor of the Yankee clipper became known throughout the world as the 'Down Easter', though the men employed in the trade, which was chiefly between the Eastern and Western ports of America, preferred to call their ships by the proud term of 'Cape Horners'.

These splendid vessels, though not considered fast when compared with their predecessors, had a good turn of speed, and made excellent passages. Their captains, besides being very fine seamen, were very good business men; and for some twenty-five years they earned dividends of from 10 to 20%.

Although both the Blue Nose and Down East ships were well found, they were looked upon with great aversion by the sailors of all nationalities; for aboard them the treatment of the man before the mast was often brutal in the extreme: indeed the terms 'blood boat' and 'hell ship' were often by no means exaggerations.

The Down Easters reached their zenith in the early 'eighties when the following superb wooden full-riggers were built: *John MacDonald*, *Cyrus Wakefield*, *I. F. Chapman*, *S. P. Hitchcock*, *A. G. Ropes* and *Henry B. Hyde*.

The *Henry B. Hyde* of 2583 tons, designed and built by John MacDonald, a pupil of Donald McKay, and launched in 1884 at Bath, is generally considered to have been the finest of all the Down Easters. During the early 'nineties, however, the firm of Sewall built a number of huge wooden four-masted barques, of which the mighty *Shenandoah* was the best known.

So proud were Americans of this ship that her picture was engraved on all licenses issued to American shipmasters. She cost 175,000 dollars to build and spread two acres of canvas. Her main truck was 217 ft. above the deck. All her spars were of Oregon pine except the steel bowsprit and she even had wooden stocks to her anchors. She was the last dying effort of the wood sawyer against the man of plates and rivets.

But to return to the golden years of the clipper ship.

The American clipper was killed by the North and South War: and by

1860 her place in the China and Colonial trade was being taken by the Scottish clipper, a very different and very much smaller vessel.

No vessels have ever been more perfectly built and finished than the little Aberdeen and Clyde clippers of the 'sixties, which competed in the tea races for the London market, nor have any vessels been more beautiful to look at.

Hall of Aberdeen was the pioneer designer with his *Stornoway*, *Chrysolite*, *Cairngorin*, *Vision* and *Robin Hood* in the 'fifties; in the 'sixties his vessels were not quite so prominent. *Flying Spur* and *Black Prince* were both in the first flight, but their skippers were easy-going. The *Caliph*, which disappeared on her second outward passage, was probably the fastest clipper of the lot; but with an inexperienced master she had no chance.

Steele of Greenock, who was Hall's chief rival, produced *Falcon*, *Taeping*, *Serica*, *Ariel*, *Sir Lancelot*, *Titania*, *Lahloo* and *Kaisow*.

Leander, built by Lawrie, and *Thermopylae*, built by Hood, came from the board of Bernard Waymouth; whilst Rennie designed *Fiery Cross II*, *Black Prince* and *Norman Court*. Stephen of Glasgow's best was probably *Forward Ho*; Connell built *Tai Tsing*, *Spindrift* and *Windhover*; while *Cutty Sark* was the one and only effort of Hercules Linton.

It is more difficult to pick holes in the lines of these little tea clippers than in those of the big Californian flyers; but it is generally admitted that Hall's ships had not enough bearing forward whilst Steel's lacked it aft: Hall's ships were apt to wash men off their bowsprits whilst Steel's dished up dollops with their short counters and made it very unpleasant for their helmsmen.

And which was the fastest of all these wonderful clippers? On their records either *Thermopylae* or *Sir Lancelot*. But where records are concerned one has to take into account the master. There were no better racing skippers than Kemball and Robinson. I have little doubt that *Cutty Sark* was the most powerful in heavy weather, but she was inferior to *Thermopylae*, *Spindrift*, and the Steele cracks in light weather. *Spindrift* and *Kaisow* were very fast off the wind. *Thermopylae* and *Norman Coast* were specially noted for their windward work.

There were three iron ships in the tea fleet: *Lord of the Isles*, built by Scott of Greenock in 1853; and the sisters, *Blackadder* and *Hallow'een*, built by Walker of London on the lines of *The Tweed* in 1870. All three ships put up good records in the favourable monsoon; but the tea skippers disliked iron.

Besides the tea clippers there were not a great number of composite ships built; but there were three little passenger ships in the South Australian trade which deserve mention: and curiously enough they were all built at Sunderland. The first was the *City of Adelaide*, 791 tons, launched by Pile in

1864; the second the *St Vincent*, 892 tons, by the same builder in 1865 and considered by Devitt and Moore to have been their fastest ship; and thirdly the famous *Torrens*, 1276 tons and launched by Laing in 1875, the last composite passenger ship and one of the last to carry stunsails. Both the *City of Adelaide* and *Torrens* made the run from the Channel to Adelaide in sixty-five days.

The largest composite ship ever built was the *Sobraon* of 2131 tons, built by Hall of Aberdeen in 1866; and one of the smallest was the little barque *Berean* in the Tasmanian trade. She was built by Pile in 1869 on the lines of his tea clippers, *Maitland* and *Undine*.



Brig *Lanrick*, opium clipper

Before leaving wood for iron in ship construction, I must not forget the Welsh copper-ore barques; little vessels of from 300 to 600 tons, which in the 'sixties and 'seventies made some remarkable records in their Cape Horn passages to the west coast of South America. This was probably the hardest trade in the whole world's mercantile marine. A number of these little barques, belonging to Bath of Swansea, were named *Deerslayer*, *Pathfinder*, *Mohican*, *Delaware*, *Hawk Eye*, etc.; others, mostly built by Cox of Bideford or Hill of Bristol, were called after the letters of the Greek alphabet.

The best records were made by the iron barque *Pacific*, 429 tons, built by Stephen of Glasgow in 1867. She went from Barrow, fully laden with iron rails under Captain Frazer, to Talcahuano in sixty-eight days and from the Tees to Paysander in sixty-two days. The *Bride*, a three-masted schooner, made the run from Talcahuano to Havre in sixty-two days. *Mizpah*, another little three-masted schooner, under Captain Thomas Gronow

Evans, after discharging Welsh coal at Punta Arenas, sailed through Magellan Straits for Valparaiso. This was in September 1884. Several times she was compelled to anchor in snow blizzards; and when she finally made the open sea, a dead calm fell and heavy rollers threatened to drift her on to the rocks. A light breeze, which rapidly developed into a gale, saved her; and within a fortnight she was at anchor in Valparaiso Bay. But during that anxious night off the west end of the Straits, Captain Evans's hair went snow-white to the great astonishment of his mate when day broke.

The Welsh copper-ore men were not the only small fry to go into deep water. Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers thought nothing of sending their merchandize to the Antipodes in little brigs and schooners of under 200 tons.

The Geordie brigs, which took their Newcastle coal as far, at times, as Quebec and the Black Sea, have always been considered the finest nursery for British seamen.

But during the first half of the nineteenth century they had worthy rivals in the opium clippers, which raced up the uncharted China sea from Bombay and Calcutta to the Canton River.

The first opium clipper to beat up against the north-east monsoon was the barque *Red Rover*, of 255 tons, launched in the winter of 1829-30 from the Howrah Dock, Calcutta, and built on the lines of the famous American privateer *Prince de Neufchatel*. She was quickly followed by the beautiful *Waterwitch*, a barque of 369 tons, the *Sylph*, of 304 tons, and *Cowasjee Family*, of 431 tons (both designed by Sir Robert Seppings, but built in Calcutta), the Bombay-built brig *Lady Grant*, and barques *Sir Henry Compton* and *Ardaseer*.

Though most of the opium clippers were Indian-built, a few were ex-slavers, such as the schooners *Syed Khan* and *Black Joke* and the brig *Ann*. Others, such as the schooners *Anglona*, *Ariel*, *Mazeppa* and *Zephyr*, the brig *Antelope* and barque *Coquette*, were designed and built on the lines of the famous ex-fruit schooner, *Time*, which had been brought out from England by Captain Joseph Pybus.

Hall of Aberdeen was responsible for *Torrington*, *Vindex* and *Salamander*, whilst White of Cowes built *Nina*, *Edmont* and *Wild Dayrell*. All these last were schooners for the coasting trade from Bangkok to Corea and proved a magnificent nursery for seamen, whatever the morals of their trade.

The fruiterers, of which the *Time* had once been considered the crack, consisted of a huge fleet of brigantines and schooners in the 'forties and 'fifties; and the races from the Ionian Isles with oranges for the London market were the talk of the city until Bibby's steamers filched the Mediterranean trade and drove the fruiterers out of the Straits. However, they still hung on

to the Azores trade until the late 'eighties: yet who now remembers the *Jane Slade* or the *Susan Vittery* or the *Chocolate Girl*?

Perhaps there may still be found in some out of the way port a decrepit, unkempt, topsail schooner whose fine lines and graceful ends proclaim her to the initiated to be an old fruiter.

Our splendid coasting fleet, in which most of the fruiters found a last refuge, has been knocked out since the 1914-18 war by the economical foreigner with his oil engine.

But the oil engine has not been the only difficulty that our coasting skippers have had to contend with. Only two years ago I was talking to the captain and owner of one of our last coasting schooners in commission. He complained of his difficulty in getting hands. The first question asked by the modern seaman who thinks of shipping to sea is apparently: 'Have you square yards?' And if the answer is 'Yes', he will have none of it. We have to remember that in this country of Great Britain, at any rate, the modern man of the sea is not a rigger and sail handler, but a rather indifferent deck-sweeper and paint-swabber.

The last of the small fry to maintain the battle of sail against the steam tramp were the fish carriers. Up to the war there were still a number of British and Welsh schooners in this trade; but now the few, that still continue to carry the codfish from Newfoundland and Labrador to Lisbon and Oporto, are sturdy three-masted schooners of Canadian build and ownership.

The opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 was supposed to sound the knell of the long-voyage sailing ship; but this was far from being the case, for the era of iron and steel did not reach its zenith until years after that date. It must be admitted, however, that the high-water mark in sailing-ship tonnage was reached in 1868 with 4,691,820 tons. By 1873 this amount had dropped to 4,067,564 tons. In 1860, 818 sailing ships were built, of which only thirty-two were of iron. Ten years later, out of 541 on the launching slips, sixty-three had iron hulls. Then in 1875, out of 566 sail-built, 193 were of iron.

The first iron ship, appropriately named the *Ironsides*, was built at Liverpool by Jackson, Gordon and Co. as far back as 1838.

The first iron hull with intercostal plates and stringers was the little *Martaban* of 743 tons, built for A. and J. Carmichael by John Scott of Greenock in 1853. At that date Lloyds had no rules or class for iron ships. *Martaban*, whose specifications were the work of Matthew Orr and John Ferguson, was rated equal to a nine-year wooden ship. She proved a great success and Lloyds retained her specifications as the basis of their rules for iron ships.

Though the first steel ship, the barque *Altcar*, was built by Jones, Quigg

and Co. of Liverpool as far back as 1864, steel did not make any headway until the beginning of the 'eighties, when Harland and Wolf built the magnificent steel full-rigger *Garfield*, of 2290 tons net, for Ismays White Star Line. Three-masters of this size proved expensive to run, owing to their huge spars and mighty sails: and this led to the building of four-masters.

The first four-master, if we exclude the *Great Republic*, was the *County of Peebles* of 1614 tons, built in 1875 for Craig by Barclay, Curle and Co. She was a four-masted ship and was followed in successive years by a whole fleet of majestic Counties. The first iron four-masted barque was the *Tweeddale* of 1403 tons, built by Barclay, Curle and Co. for J. and A. Roxburgh in 1877. The same year Murray launched the well-known *Benares* for Watson Bros.



Herzogin Cecilie

It is impossible to do more than glance at the superb fleet of iron and steel ships which were sent afloat in the 'seventies and 'eighties—wool clippers, emigrant ships, jute clippers, grain carriers and frozen-meat flyers.

In the Australian trade amongst a host of illustrious names many will remember *Patriarch*, *Miltiades*, *Salamis*, *Aristides* and *Samuel Plimsoll*, flying the Aberdeen White Star flag; *Golden Fleece*, *Mermerus*, *Thessalus* and *Argonaut*, flying Carmichael's Golden Fleece; Anderson's *Harbinger* and *Hesperus*; Watson's *Ben Cruachan* and *Ben Voirlich*; Heap's *Theophane*, *Antiope* and *Parthenope*; the Lochs *Maree*, *Garry*, *Vennachar*, *Torridon*, *Carron* and *Broom*; Nicols's *Romanoff* and *Cimba*; Bruce's *Maulesden* and *Duntrune*; Devitt and Moore's *Rodney* and *Port Jackson*; and Rose's *Cromdale* and *Mount Stewart*.

In the New Zealand trade Duncan built the six beautiful sisters: *Dunedin*, *Canterbury*, *Invercargill*, *Auckland*, *Nelson* and *Wellington* for Patrick

Henderson. Two very fast ships in their trade were Shaw Savill's *Crusader* and the N.Z.S. Co.'s *Turakina ex City of Perth*.

During this period British sail carried most of the Californian grain and Calcutta jute; and again one can only mention a few of the outstanding ships, such as Corry's *Stars of Greece, Italy and France*; Beazley's *British Ambassador* and *British Merchant*; Williamson Milligan's *Lammermoor* and *Cedric the Saxon*; Brocklebank's *Belfast*; Goffey's *Micronesia*; Hogarth's *Machrihamish*; Caird's *Euphrosyne*; the lofty *Glengarry*; the flat-floored *Old Kensington*; *MacCallum More*; *Roderick Dhu*; *Castle Roy*; *Evesham Abbey*; *Thomasina Maclellan*; *Charlotte Croom*; *Glenesshin* and *Glenaloon*, belonging to De Wolf; and Ismay's *Dawpool*. Then there were the Shires, Drums, Dales, Burns, Banks, Falls, Sierras, Owners, Capes and Counties.

Gradually as the 'nineties approached ships increased in size, became more box-like and less shapely; and, in their fight against steam, more frugally run, to put it mildly. But these vessels trained the liner captains of the present day. It was truly a hard, virile training, which rapidly weeded out the weaklings. Indeed, these undermanned, oversparred, pound and pint, narrow-gutted four-posters and three-stickers, which flew the old red duster in the last fight with steam, produced a race of men—men full of the true sea spirit and that strangely elusive quality, sea-sense.

It has remained for the Germans, the Swedes, the Danes and the Finns to carry on the old traditions. Captain Gustaf Erikson with his fleet of British and German 'has-beens' still brings the wheat home from Australia. And two ships of the great 'P' line, which once boasted of its famous five-masters, *Potosi* and *Preussen*, still bring the nitrate round the Horn. West Indian logwood, Baltic timber and Canadian codfish still find employment for a few economically run Danish and Finnish barques and Newfoundland schooners. But elsewhere throughout the Seven Seas the engine reigns supreme. Square sail is for all practical purposes dead. The Golden Age of Sail has passed. No longer are there any lords of the bunt and gasket and masters of the yard.

Sic transit gloria mundi!

A CANOE FROM THE SOLOMON ISLANDS AND ITS SOCIAL ROLE

By K. G. Izikowitz

AT the dawn of culture the Old World (the New World was as yet scarcely inhabited) was divided into two cultural regions, of which South-East Asia was one. This protruding section of land, which is to-day an island, was then a part of the mainland or was separated from it by narrow straits, scarcely any obstacle for primitive boats.¹ This part of the world was one of the points of departure from which one may assume² that people have made their way out to the islands to the east in the Pacific and to the west across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar.

Excellent seamanship is not enough for travels over such great oceans, there must also be good boats. Thanks to the fact that these people used double canoes or attached an outrigger to their narrow boats they could, with the help of sails, manage such long journeys in the open sea. Canoes were therefore important equipment for the island peoples.

A visitor to the Ethnographical Museum at Gothenburg who is enthusiastic about boats, if he takes a look at the collection from the South Seas cannot avoid noticing the canoe from the Solomon Islands, which differs from the others because it has no outrigger and is unusually beautifully shaped and decorated.

The canoe (37. 16. 1) Pl. I a was bought in 1937 from an English firm with the cryptic information that it came from the Solomon Islands. It is a boat of the so-called *ora* type³, which was used in the south-eastern part of this archipelago, at San Cristobal and the islands nearby, for ceremonial fishing in connexion with initiation rites. One can at once understand from the canoe's ornamentation that it was not meant for everyday use. A few such canoes are already well known, but even so it will be of interest to describe this one and—this is most important—to give it its proper place in the life of the people, for without this we cannot understand the details of the canoe, all of which have their meaning.

¹ Hallam L. Movius, 'The Lower Palaeolithic Cultures of Southern and Eastern Asia,' *Trans. Amer. phil. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. xxxviii, pt. 4 (Philadelphia, 1949).

² Felix Speiser, 'Versuch einer Siedlungsgeschichte der Südsee', *Denkschr. schweiz. naturf. Ges.* Bd. LXXVII, Anh. 1 (Zürich, 1946).

³ A. C. Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, special publ. 27-29, Vol. II (Honolulu, 1936-8).

The form with its high prow and stern is typical of many Solomon Island boats and occurs also in other places. The same is true of the construction. The canoe is not hollowed out but is built of planks sewn together, which are carved out to suit the shape of the boat.

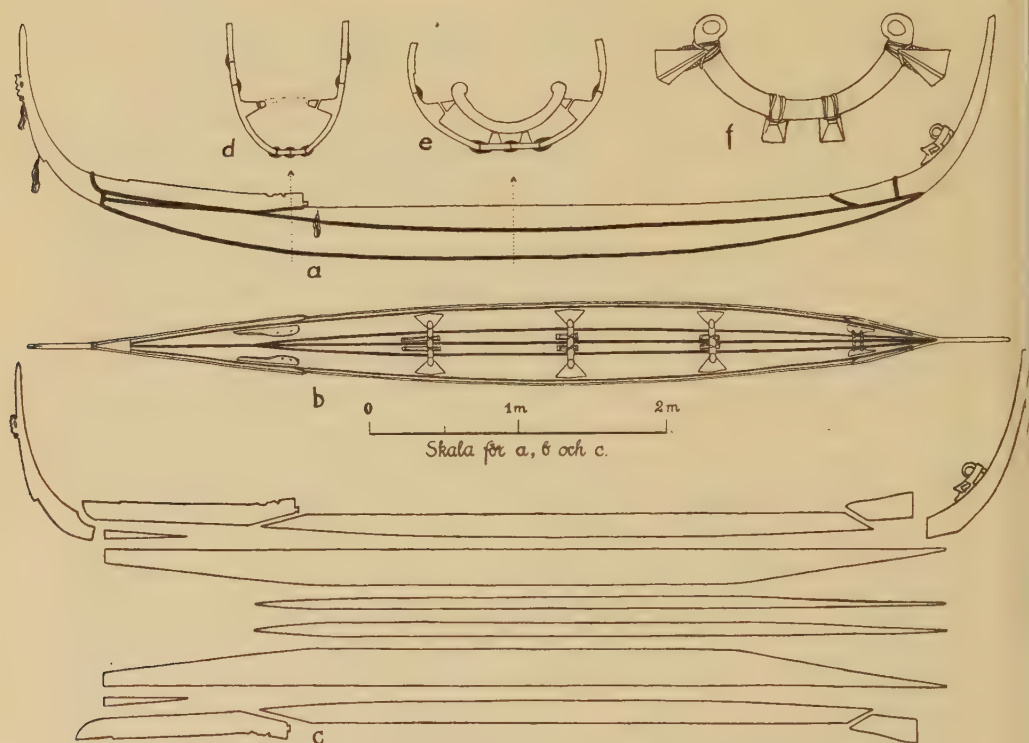


Fig. 1. Plan showing constructional details of the *ora* canoe of the Solomon Islands.

The sewing is done with plant fibres and the joints are made watertight with a pulp made from *Parinarium* nuts. The seams appear as dark elevations on the inside (Pl. 1c). The length of the boat is 6.65 m., the greatest breadth 0.56 m., and it is made of 14 parts. The thickness of the planks is about 5 mm. The boat's special form and light construction are necessary because it is used in the fishing of bonito, a type of mackerel of about 70–90 cm. long, in the chasing and catching of which one is dependent upon very fast boats. With an outrigger or a hollowed out boat one can scarcely come up to any higher speed.¹ The bonito canoe is thus most like a racing canoe. Alvaro de Mendaña, who in 1568 discovered the Solomon Islands,

¹ A. M. Hocart, 'The Canoe and the Bonito in Eddystone Island'. *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXV, pp. 83 and 97 (London, 1935).

describes the 'canoes and marvels at the speed with which they were paddled.¹

It perhaps surprises us that there are canoes made of boards sewn together but these were not unusual in the South Seas and have existed also in other parts of the world—even in Scandinavia.²

Inside there are three heavy ribs secured to projections carved directly out of the boards (Pl. I c). The ribs end in a flat knob, in the middle of which a shell is inlaid. At the stern there are two handles fastened to projections and there must have been similar ones even in the prow, to judge by the holes.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

The bow is equipped with two splash boards and this is typical of the *ora* canoes. The larger war and sea-going canoes have also splash boards at the stern. The prow is divided at the top, and in the middle there are two carved figures suggesting human beings (Pl. II a) with two tassels made of strips of reeds hanging below them. In the opening it was the custom to fasten a stick decorated with kauri shells. On the stern there is a piece of carving in the form of a dog eating a fish (Pl. I b). The splash boards' upper edges are decorated with carved ornaments (Fig. 2) and the line of demarcation at the gunwale is carved in relief representing a frigate bird with a fish in his mouth (Fig. 3), a very usual motive in these regions.

¹ C. M. Woodford, 'The Canoes of the British Solomon Islands', *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. xxxix, p. 506 (London, 1909); and Alvaro de Mendaña, *Die Entdeckung der Inseln des Salomo*, ed. by G. Friederici (Stuttgart, 1925).

² Sewn boats appear in various places. In Scandinavia the so-called Hjortspring boat was found in Denmark and is from the early Iron Age. The Laps sewed boats as late as the seventeenth century.

The canoe, which is made of rather light brown wood, is in part painted over with black wax and decorated with inlays of shells in the wax. The bits of shells of different shapes and colours are from various kinds of mussels (Pl. II *b*). The whole boat is decorated with inlays of shell ornaments. At the stern we thus see a frigate bird in profile, in the bow a similar one, and the W-shaped designs at the gunwale represent the wings of this bird. In the bow one can also see the head of an imaginary animal, a fish or crocodile with widely gaping mouth with long rows of teeth (Pl. II *b*).

The bird decorations can easily be explained. The frigate bird always follows the schools of bonito fish. The two figures in the bow probably represent some myth motive, for instance the one of the twin brothers who were culture heroes on San Cristobal.¹ Their style reminds one of the so-called *korwar* style, which is found mostly on New Guinea and in the Indonesian wood carvings of ancestors.² The dog carving can be explained by a story of several fishermen who saw a dog catch bonitoes and eat them.³

It must be an impressive sight to see these elegant canoes gliding along over the water with the sunlight sparkling on the mother-of-pearl, paddled by brown youths dressed for the feast with brilliant decorations, everything in honour of the chase after the bonitoes, which when they hunt on the surface of the water whip it to a foam. After the bonitoes come the sharks with their fins visible above the surface and above the scene are the crying gulls, terns, eagles and above all the frigate birds which hunt the same prey as the bonitoes.

The people in this part of the Solomon archipelago are mainly farmers and live on taro, yams, coconuts and other plants and they raise pigs as a sideline. Fishing plays a less important role because the coasts are inaccessible and the weather is unsuitable during the greater part of the year. The trade wind blows for seven months of the year and the marked difference between ebb and flow results in a choppy sea which impedes canoe travel. Only for a short season is it calm, and during several short weeks around March it is possible to catch bonito. Therefore the bonito fishing can scarcely have any great importance economically but its ceremonial role is all the more important.⁴

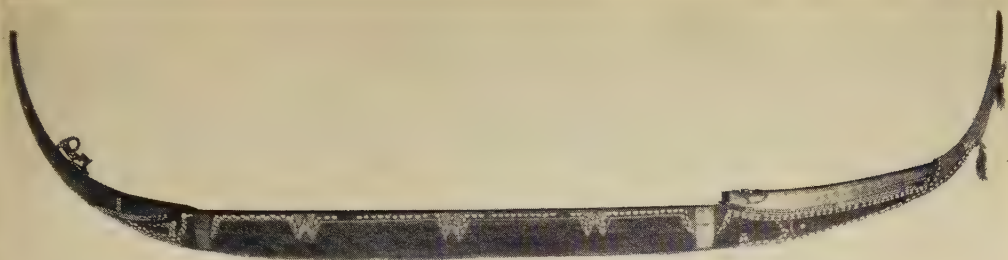
The inhabitants live in villages, and each village has its chieftain and its priest. The difference between the people and its chiefs and their families is very great. The chief, like the priest, represents the whole village. While the former is to 'lift up' the village, i.e. see to it that it wins honour, the priest

1 C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, p. 83 (London, 1924).

2 Felix Speiser, 'Über Kunststile in Melanesien', *Ze. Ethn.*, Bd. LXVIII, pp. 309ff. (Berlin, 1937).

3 W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands*, p. 405 (London, 1927).

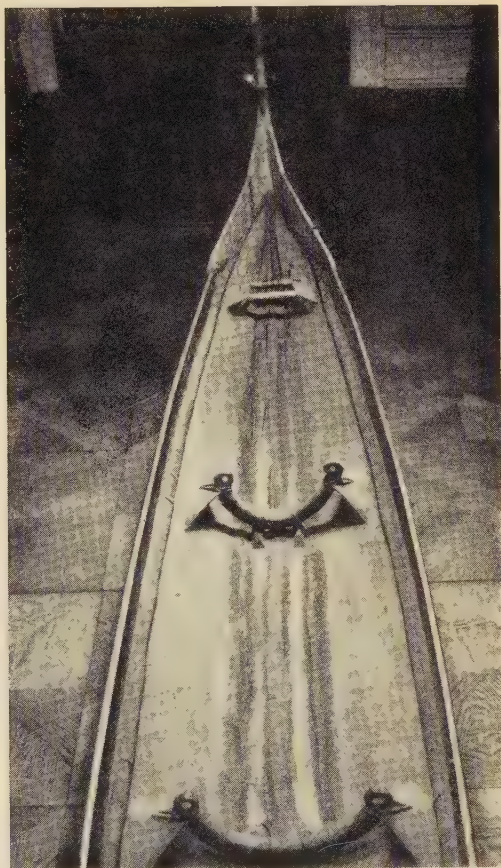
4 The description of life on these islands is mainly taken from Fox's and Ivens's above-mentioned works.



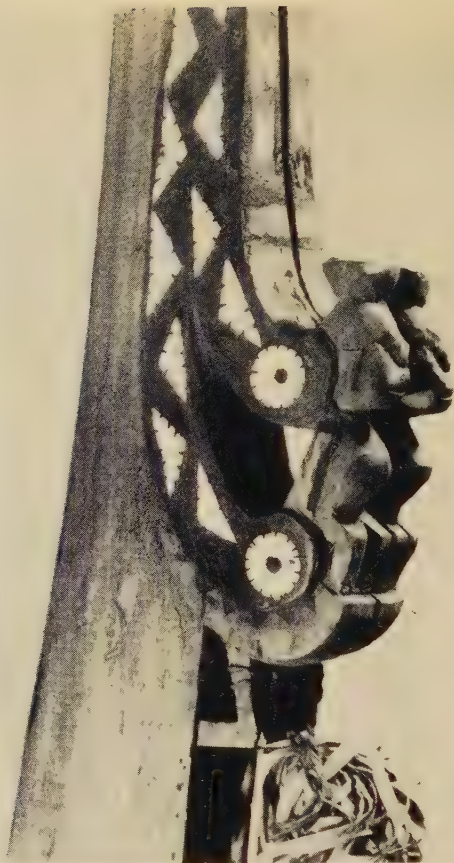
(a) The canoe.



(b) The stern.



(c) The stern, view from inboard.



(a) Figure-carving on stern.



(b) Detail on bow. Note the open mouth of animal with rows of teeth represented by shells.

must take care of the spirits, who at one time have been chieftains or have been connected with these through bonito fishing. The village gains prestige through the chieftain's arranging many feasts, through his travels in a handsome sea canoe to other villages and through his spending his income in the village's honour. The richer he is, the better it is for the village. Thus the people work for the chieftain to make him rich and powerful. They build his boats and house, work his fields and keep him supplied with plenty of shell money. For a rich chieftain is the pride of the village, and he is, furthermore, a holy man. He puts a taboo on whatever he wishes, his person may not be touched, and after death parts of his body are kept as relics in a shrine carved in the form of a sword-fish and placed in the holy canoe house. At his side the chieftain has a company of heralds and messengers, servants and warriors, who have often fled from other villages to seek his protection.

A series of feasts relieve the everyday monotony. These mean tremendous expenditure and a lot of extra work for the people. Fortunes in shell money are turned over to the chieftain, quantities of food are prepared and hogs are slaughtered. The food is served in handsome carved wooden bowls inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The feasts are arranged according to definite patterns, and are extremely formal, with special etiquette and with artful speeches by the chieftains and special orators. Through the night there is dancing in the tropical moonlight—singers and chorus leaders were important persons. Story-tellers contributed with serial stories continued from day to day. Those who arranged the feast won great reputation and the whole village partook of the honour.

Among the most important feasts were those for the chieftain's children, especially his sons, who were to become great men. Such a feast was given for every important step in life. But the greatest occasion was when the chieftain's son became a man after having gone through a separation from the village and having lived in the holy canoe house at the shore a little way from the village for a year or two, without contact with women. At this initiation the chieftain's son was, however, not alone. Several of the boys who were his personal attendants went through the same initiation. In the canoe house with the relics of the ancestors and the bonito canoes they were instructed by experienced men in the tribe's religion and mythology. At the end of this separation the initiation culminated in a bonito fishing ceremony. When this was to take place the priest and the men who were already initiated moved to the canoe house and after many rites the priest indicated when the fishing should begin. Boys who were to be initiated then went out in a bonito canoe of the type which is here described, and had along with them expert fishermen who were paid for their work by the boys' fathers or uncles (mother's brother).

The fishing is done with a hook, and the fisherman in the bow uses the spinner method with a special hook of mother-of-pearl and tortoise shell. Since there is no barb, great skill is required in holding the fish on the hook. In general bonito fishing is considered a great sport. Both the hooks and the rod are looked upon as precious articles to hand down to other generations.

In the stern another fisherman sits holding two rods under his knees. He trolls and his hooks are of a different kind. There are also two additional men, who assist these two. The boy who is to be initiated holds on to the casting rod in the bow and when the fish bites and the bonito is pulled in he is initiated. The first bonito is cut up by the priest and the boy is sprinkled with the fish's blood. The actual fishing is then continued.

When the fishing is over the great *malaohu* feast is launched. *Malaohu* is the name of the whole initiation. In a festive parade the boys are led into the village where they are received by the mothers, the whole village and the invited guests. They are exhibited there for everyone to look at on a decorated platform about 5 m. high, and thus the great feast begins, the details of which I cannot describe in these few pages. In any case it should be easy to understand the position which our bonito canoe has as an important instrument in the almost sacred bonito fishing which is the climax of the life of the whole community.

The one who gives the *malaohu* feast and pays for the whole initiation wins great honour. Generally speaking it is arranged by the chief's sons but in certain places even a common man can hold the feast if he has sufficient means. Theoretically it is the chief's sons who are initiated but it is the desire of every family to have its sons initiated. There are, however, many who cannot afford it. Life is a competition for prestige which is mainly reserved for the chiefs. The *malaohu* system is thus bound to the social structure.

The *malaohu* system with the bonito fishing and the typical canoes and other details which are part of it, is found only on the south-eastern part of the Solomon Islands.¹ Felix Speiser, who did research on the initiation ceremonies in the South Seas believes that *malaohu* is a simplified form of the other initiation rites of Melanesia. In the other tribes all sons take part in the initiation and it is seldom followed by bonito fishing. When this fish is caught, it is not connected with initiation ceremonies but with ordinary magic for good luck in fishing.²

¹ Felix Speiser, 'Das Malaoho-Ritual in den Salomonen', *Bull. schweiz. Ges. Anthropol.*, Bd. xix (Bern, 1943).

² Felix Speiser, 'Über Initiationen in Australien und Neu-Guinea', *Verh. naturf. Ges. Basel*, Bd. xL, Teil 2 (Basel, 1929); and 'Kulturgeschichtliche Betrachtungen über die Initiationen in der Südsee', *Bull. schweiz. Ges. Anthropol.*, 1945-6 (Bern, 1946).

Speiser does not consider himself able to explain the *malaohu* system's origin but points out that it is either imported from the West or a relic from an older culture.¹ Ivens, who spent many years on these islands, believes that it has been brought in. However, there is much that would indicate that the invaders took these islands away from the original inhabitants. The race conditions in the coastal villages substantiate this as does the language and larger part of the culture. The language, for instance, contains many Indonesian words. Speiser points out that the culture shows many similarities with that in Micronesia and Polynesia, and draws the conclusion that it may be a question of an immigration from Indonesia to these islands—including the south-eastern Solomons—and that there has existed here at an earlier period a people of a different kind with a different culture which has apparently had much in common with the older cultures in Melanesia and doubtlessly had, like these, initiation ceremonies.² My opinion is that the invaders changed these ceremonies in accordance with their own feast patterns and limited the whole rite to the sons of the chiefs. The sacred chieftainship on the south-eastern Solomon Islands reminds one of that in Polynesia.

Apart from hypotheses regarding the *malaohu* system's origin, whether it is a "degenerated" initiation or not, we can in any case see that its relation to the social structure, that bonito fishing is mainly a sport and an aesthetic action and that its religious, magic and economic significance is relatively small. This does not exclude the fact, however, that it has formerly had a deeper magic meaning but its pattern can also have been taken from man-hunting or something similar. On San Cristobal, for instance, they end the initiation by having the boys stick their spears into a corpse. On certain of the Solomon Islands man-hunting was looked upon as a fine sport.³

Ceremonies connected with sport appear among many peoples. The English fox hunt with complicated rites and etiquette is an example. That, too, is an upper-class sport and of relatively late date. Its pattern has no doubt been taken over from the feudal *par force* hunting (hunting to hounds) which was practised in Europe very long ago and which from the beginning was of a more economic character. Of all this there remain only the sportive and aesthetic aspects, limited to one social group.

All the actions which involve the emotions become rites and ceremonies and the aesthetic aspect becomes responsible for the ordering of the details,

¹ Felix Speiser, 'Das Malaoho-Ritual in den Salomonen', *Bull. schweiz. Ges. Anthrop.*, Bd. xix, p. 33 (Bern, 1943).

² Felix Speiser, 'Versuch einer Siedlungsgeschichte der Südsee', *Denkschr. schweiz. naturf. Ges.* Bd. LXXVII, Anh. I (Zürich, 1946).

³ Felix Speiser, 'Das Malaoho-Ritual in den Salomonen', *Bull. schweiz. Ges. Anthrop.*, Bd. xix, p. 15 (Bern, 1943). See also C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, p. 83 (London, 1924).

making them cohesive. In this connexion one speaks of form and content and one sees that content sometimes loses in favour of form. Instead of this line of reasoning I should like to put it otherwise. When anything important is to be done this thing alone is not enough but the emotions must also be stimulated. Perhaps many do not understand the ideas but must be influenced by other means. These can often be aesthetic. Everything that has an effect on the senses can be used: music, dance, contests, drama, poetry, art, etc., and the whole is arranged according to certain patterns. The aesthetic expressions thus obtain two functions, one an ordering, one an activating function, i.e. one which affects the action's intensity. Thus we have two categories connected, the idea itself and the aesthetic side of it, and both of these have their form, their meaning and their functions. Examples of this one finds in all cultures, for instance the ceremonial relay races among the Indians of north-eastern Brazil, originally a training for rescuing comrades fallen in war. Another example is the First of May demonstrations in Sweden. These are connected with ceremonies, banners, music and festive parades. At the beginning the fight for the ideas was the most important thing and the demonstration a means of aesthetic stimulation. When the goal has begun to be reached and the fight is no longer so intense, the aesthetic side begins to take the upper hand and the whole affair is on the way to becoming a traditional folk ceremony even if it is only the manifestations which remain. In Russia the First of May demonstrations continue although the original goal has been reached. In the same way many of our own feasts have evolved. We need only think of the Midsummer celebration which from the beginning had a magic meaning.

The objects which are used in such ceremonies are influenced by the aesthetic aspect. In Japan, for instance, the sword became more artistic during the peaceful Tokugawa period when it lost its main function and instead became a mark of dignity.¹

The bonito canoe described above as well as the *malaohu* system should be looked upon from this angle. The original idea with the initiation has to some extent been lost, the aesthetic side has taken the upper hand and the ceremony has been related to the chiefs and to those common people who can afford it. It has thereby also become a means for maintaining the social structure.

It is, however, not always the case that the experiences and the responses are first formed into a myth; they can also very well be expressed directly in other kinds of aesthetic categories. Maurice Leenhardt,² who did research on South Sea art, claims that this is the case and that long before the myth is

1 O. Kümmel, *Kunstgewerbe in Japan*, p. 71 (Berlin, 1919).

2 Maurice Leenhardt, *Arts de l'Océanie*, pp. 130ff. (Paris, 1947).

formulated the experiences have taken the form of a pantomime, a drama, or art. The aesthetic side co-ordinates the group's or community's activity and one of its most important expressions is the feast in which the different kinds of art are joined into an entity. He who wishes to understand primitive art must study it in connexion with the whole of the aesthetic life, which follows its own ways, patterns, symbols and its own language. And this in its turn must be viewed in relation to the whole social life and its forms.¹

It is thus not enough simply to compare a museum object or a culture phenomenon with similar ones in other cultures. One must also place the thing in question in the whole social life and above all study the threads which tie it to the human being and his striving or aims. If we know these threads, apparently the same in all cultures, we would have come a long way towards an explanation of social and cultural phenomena.

1 Roger Bastide, 'Les problèmes de la Sociologie de l'Art'. *Cah. Int. Sociologie*, Vol. iv, 3me année (Paris, 1948).

THE KING AGAINST LUKE RYAN

By G. Rutherford

THE case of Luke Ryan caused a good deal of stir at the time, and there is a mass of unpublished material concerning it which seems not to have been explored. Perhaps the affair is worth recalling as being an unusually romantic example of the career of a renegade privateer captain in the war of American Independence.

Ryan was the only son of an Irish farmer, Michael Ryan, and was born at Kenure near Rush on St Valentine's Day, 1750. His father was well enough off to apprentice him to a boat-builder but he died when the boy was about fifteen, the widow married a man who had been their farm servant, and Luke bought himself out of his apprenticeship and took to smuggling, for which Rush, with its secluded harbour under fourteen miles from Dublin, was then famous. He sailed in various smuggling vessels and eventually, when the French entered the war, became part-owner of the cutter *Friendship* of 120 tons, armed with eighteen six-pounders and strong enough to continue smuggling from the French ports under the odd system by which such vessels were granted letters of marque and allowed to combine smuggling with privateering thus picking up what information they could from the French, who allowed them in for the same reason.

The *Friendship* was commanded by another part-owner, Edward Wild, also of Rush; Ryan was carpenter and one of the crew was a second-cousin of his, Charles Rourke, who later gave some account of the cutter's career during the six months previous to April 1779, during which time according to Rourke 'Wild went to France and Ryan became commander of her'. Actually Wild had taken service with Jean Torris, one of the *armateurs* who fitted out the notorious Dunkirk privateers and the first of them to enrol Irishmen among his captains. He pretended they were Americans, and to begin with sent them out with Congress letters of marque which had the further advantage of evading certain French government dues. In France Wild went under the name of Macatter which he afterwards said was his mother's name.¹

Rourke also stated that the *Friendship* 'took fifty-three prizes in the six months, thirty of which were taken while Ryan was master'. How many of these benefited England and how many France remains vague, but at least

¹ Lords to Hillsborough 27 November 1781 in P.R.O. SP 42/57. Henri Malo, in his works on the Dunkirk privateers, only mentions Wild as Macatter but he quotes a document signed 'Edward Wildallies Macatter'. The alias also occurs as M'Carthy, Macartney, etc., but the admiralty keeps to 'Macatter alias Wild'.

three only benefited Ryan and his crew, for they 'took two of said prizes to Morlaix in France, ransomed and ransom-bills made payable to Luke Ryan as commander', and also 'took the *Dublin* of Bristol, Griffith commander and brought her to Morlaix and there sold her for the benefit of her captors'.

Rourke and five other men were the prize-crew in this case, and later Ryan called for them and brought them back to Rush. He may have been forced by his crew to return some of them to Ireland with their gains or he may not have realized that a report had already got about that 'said cutter was intended to be taken to Dunkirk to be repaired and fitted out as a privateer against Great Britain and Ireland'. In any case he had no sooner landed than Mr John Draper, Inspector of the Tide Duty of Dublin port, put out for Rush in the revenue barge and took possession of the *Friendship* 'as having had counterband goods on board'.

Ryan accepted the confiscation calmly and even ordered his crew to help Draper's men weigh anchor; but among the revenue boatmen was a former schoolfellow of his, James Morris, of whom 'at night', so Morris confessed later, he asked 'several questions relative to the taking and seizing said vessel, in a free, easy and familiar manner as his schoolfellow and intimate acquaintance'. Be that as it may, on the night of 11-12 April, a few days after Mr Draper had left the cutter at Poolbeg with Morris and nine other men to guard her, she was boarded and carried off—according to Morris by 'forty or fifty men' but according to Rourke by only eight led by himself. Others joined her from Rush and also, with Ryan himself, from a wherry on the following day. The revenue men were put ashore on the Welsh coast, when according to Morris Ryan's farewell to him was: 'Jem, if you have a mind to make your fortune, now is the time. I am going a privateering out of France.'

At Dunkirk the *Friendship* was given a refit and renamed the *Black Prince* or *Prince Noir*, perhaps because there were several American privateers of that name. She now carried sixteen three and four pounders and thirty-two swivels, and according to the *Hague Gazette* she proceeded to pillage not only English but neutral vessels, in the latter case hoisting English colours. Ryan brought her back to Dunkirk on 26 September and handed her over to another of Torris's protégés, Patrick Dowling, who sailed in her in company with the *Princesse Noire* or *Black Princess* commanded by Macatter. Ryan's new command was the *Sans Peur* of 120 tons, eighteen guns and twelve swivels with a crew of a hundred, in which, sailing on 11 March 1780, he took among others the *Noble Ann* whaler,¹ the brigantine *Friends* of

¹ On 2 April. See my article on the *Jackal* in the *M.M.*, Vol. 32, for details of this capture. The *Sans Peur's* crew misled the Regulating Officer at Edinburgh by telling him that she was the ex-*Jackal* who actually at that moment was preparing to sail under her own name in the cruise mentioned below (for which see Malo). The error has crept into Clowes.

400 tons, and a pink, the *Two Williams* of 500 tons. He returned to Dunkirk on 29 May and his next ship was the *Calonne*, a frigate of 400 tons which had lately taken part in a government-sponsored cruise in the North Sea organized by M. de Calonne, then administrator of French Flanders and later of evil fame as French Finance Minister. The venture had not been a success and the *Calonne* had been sold after it ended, to pay for repairs to two frigates lent to it by Louis XVI, but apparently Calonne had a financial interest in her throughout her career.

To begin with Ryan did well in her, and by the following spring he had taken many prizes and prisoners, but the next cruise brought disaster. He sailed from Dunkirk on 12 April 1781 and on the 16th, south of the Firth of Forth, fell in with the brig *Nancy* from Aberdeen to Newcastle laden with tea and other merchandise. He took possession of her, ordered her master, John Ramsay, into the *Calonne* and argued with him from nine in the evening till past midnight about the ransom which was finally fixed at two hundred guineas for the cargo and one hundred for the vessel, Ramsay to be held hostage for the payment. The ransom-bill was hardly signed when a ship was sighted which Ramsay may have misled his captor into thinking was a whaler he had seen the day before.¹ Actually she was the *Berwick* seventy-four in which Captain the Hon. Keith Stewart was proceeding to Leith to hoist his broad pennant as commodore of the North Sea Squadron.

Ryan lost no time in attacking, and the *Berwick's* log records that 'at 1 a.m. a strange ship came upon our quarter, fired a broadside and desired us to bring to'. She at once beat to quarters and Ryan, having by now discovered his mistake, made off with the slower seventy-four in chase. But she was sailing in company with the famous frigate *Belle Poule* of thirty-six guns, bigger and faster than the *Calonne* though not so largely manned, and commanded by a fine sailor, Captain Philip Patton. Patton's journal is given verbatim: 'at 2. a.m. saw the *Berwick* Engag'd, made sail towards her, the Enemy made Sail-Clear'd ship and made sail at 4 a.m. the Enemy firing his Stern Chace at us—Passed the *Berwick*—the Enemy hoisted French Colours—at 5h gave him a Broadside—at $\frac{1}{2}$ past the enemy haul'd his Wind and an Intent to Rake us—we also to prevent it, at 6h having fir'd 3 or 4 Broad sides at her, and being Close under her quarter, she struck and prov'd to be La Cologne privateer of Dunkirk, Luke Ryan Commr and mounted 32 Guns, 12 and 9 pounders, 250 men.'

The frigates' manoeuvres had given the *Berwick* time to come up so there was no question of Ryan trying to fight it out. There were no casualties

¹ According to Beatson he not only made the suggestion but did so purposely, having 'conjectured' what the ship really was. This hardly seems likely and Ramsay's later evidence makes, as recorded, no mention of the suggestion at all.

and on the 19th the prisoners were landed at Leith and lodged in Edinburgh Castle. Ryan attracted much interest, often sympathetic, and tales got about of his not having allowed his colours to be struck till he was knocked down by one of his own men, and then having tried to blow up his powder-magazine and been put in irons in the *Belle Poule* in consequence. This last assertion was indignantly contradicted after the war by an anonymous contributor to the *Political Magazine* who declared that on the contrary Ryan was given an officer's cabin and treated as 'a sort of prisoner at large'; and in proof of it enclosed a copy of a letter from him to Patton asking for the return of his 'Commishon' but also thanking him for the good treatment he had had 'when on Board of Yor frigate'.

The commission in question was of course merely the *commission en guerre* granted to privateer captains but Ryan posed as a naval officer and even petitioned to be released on parole. Instead he remained under specially strict guard at the Castle while a budget of evidence was collected in Ireland to prove his identity. It arrived in July containing with others the statements of Morris and Rourke-Rourke, though he left Ireland with Ryan, having in some way returned before him and having been already, according to a note from the Irish Solicitor General, 'indicted tried and convicted for cutting said vessel out of said harbour'. The Solicitor also sent a caution: 'I beg leave to observe to you that it will be expedient that the trial of said Luke Ryan may be brought on with all convenient expedition, as the relations and friends of said Luke Ryan may probably as soon as they find out the witnesses intended to be produced against him, endeavour to prevent such witnesses from attending in England.'

But Ryan could not be tried till the next half-yearly session of the High Court of Admiralty at the end of October. Meanwhile, as early as 14 May M. Le Hoc, head of the *Bureau des Prix et Echanges* at Versailles had begun an acrid correspondence with his opposite numbers, the Commissioners for Sick and Hurt, demanding that Ryan should be released *le plus promptement possible*. He could only suppose, he wrote, that they did not know of the unfair treatment of a French subject who had been elected a burgess of Dunkirk. The Commissioners replied that as there was 'the most unquestionable proof' of Captain Ryan being a British subject he was not entitled to the benefit of the cartel, but Le Hoc insisted that as he had become a Dunkirk burgess on 21 October 1780 and had been specifically naturalized by the King last February he was undoubtedly French when captured. The Commissioners retorted that their Lordships were much surprised by this claim, 'it being a well known fact that no new allegiance can extinguish the original one', which called forth a threat of reprisals on fugitives from France recaptured serving in Channel Island privateers. But George III,

when shown the letters drafted by the Secretary of the admiralty for the Commissioners, fully approved of them and declared that the French demand was 'totally inadmissible'.

In September Mr Draper, the Dublin Revenue Inspector, arrived in London in charge of Morris, Rourke and a farmer called Robert Echlin who had known Ryan from an infant. The Admiralty Session was fixed for 31 October, and on the 1st the Marshal of the Admiralty was ordered to bring Ryan and his mate, Thomas Coppinger, to London under guard. Coppinger had sent from Edinburgh a petition declaring that he had never served in a French privateer except for the few days of the *Calonne's* last cruise and only then because he had been lured to Dunkirk by one Thomas Trant of Cork, when he meant only to go to the neutral port of Ostend, and there abandoned, upon which 'Captain Ryan was good enough to relieve his distresses by taking him on board his vessel and paying all his expenses which your petitioner must actually have gone to prison for'. The admiralty, however, decided to try him for his life with Ryan, leaving any minor offence to be looked into later if he was acquitted.

The two men arrived in London on Saturday 13 October and were lodged in a house in Doctors' Commons. On the Monday they were examined by Dr William Wynne, the King's Advocate-General, at the Horn Tavern where, according to the *Annual Register*, 'the only questions asked of Ryan were the following, viz. Whether his name was Ryan? Whether the names Luke Ryan signed to the bond for his English Letter of Marque, which was produced to him, were of his hand writing? To both of which he answered in the affirmative which was the whole of the examination.' Ryan and Coppinger were then committed to the New Gaol, Southwark, as both Newgate and the King's Bench prisons had been destroyed in the Gordon Riots and were still rebuilding, and a military guard was ordered for them while they were there.

On 31 October they duly appeared at the Old Bailey before Sir James Marriott, Judge of the Admiralty, assisted by Judge Willis of the King's Bench and Baron Eyre of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General and an array of King's Advocates and Proctors attending. The *Political Magazine* records that 'Ryan was a middle sized and rather genteel man, thin made, dressed in a scarlet frock with black buttons, black waistcoat and breeches. Coppinger was in brownish cloaths and had more the look of a fat alehouse keeper than a seaman.'

Then came a surprise. Ryan's counsel, Mr Peckham, asked for his trial to be put off till the next session, saying that he had an affidavit to show that Ryan had been born in France but had not been given time to send for witnesses from there to prove it. Accordingly Ryan was sworn to this affidavit and it was read.

It stated at length that he had not had a copy of the indictment as soon as he should and so had not known that he needed the evidence of his uncle James Ryan ('an Officer in the Service of the French King'), of John Torris, John Waute (an associate of Torris) and others in France, 'all necessary and material witnesses without whose testimony he cannot with safety take his Trial'.

The Attorney-General and the King's Advocate were both against the trial being put off, saying with reason that Ryan had had plenty of time since his capture to send for evidence, but a fuller affidavit was ordered, to be made in court. This romantic document is signed like the other 'Luc Ryan' in a small and elegant hand and declares that Ryan had always understood that his grandfather was a native of Ireland who settled in France at the time of the Convention of Limerick; that his father was born in France and died when he was too young to remember him, and that he himself was also born in France 'in or about 1753 as his uncle hath often told him'. Also that his mother's second husband took him to Ireland about 1760 where his education 'was defrayed by the said uncle and the money remitted through the hands of the aforesaid John Torris', and that about ten years ago he had returned to France 'in consequence of an order from his uncle'. It ended: 'this deponent saith that he verily believes the aforesaid witnesses... will be able to prove he is a native of France'.

On the strength of this affidavit the trial was postponed. Coppinger asked to be tried at once but the Attorney-General said this would not be right 'as it would put Ryan in possession of the evidence'. Bail was refused and the two men returned to prison.

The Irish witnesses—whose evidence had meanwhile hanged two other Rush 'pirates', Knight and Sweetman, who had merely served in a French privateer as lieutenant and pilot—were now supposed to stay in London till the spring Session, but on 27 November their Lordships asked Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Northern Department (shortly to become the Home Office), to have several more witnesses sent over as it was suspected that Ryan had persuaded Echlin and Rourke 'to go out of the way as they have not been seen or heard of for a week last past'.

Nor did they appear at the new trial. Neither did Morris whose duties as a revenue boatman perhaps claimed him, but Mr Draper stayed to look after the new witnesses, being paid 10s. 6d. a day for the twenty-seven weeks he was away from Ireland and also £15. 13s. 'advanced by him to buy cloaths for two of the witnesses'.

By mid-March these had arrived—as it happened to give evidence also against Macatter who had been taken in a larger namesake of his original *Princesse Noire*, on 9 October, by Captain Henry Duncan in his frigate

Medea. On 30 March, therefore, both the former owners of the *Friendship* appeared before Sir James Marriott and Sir William Ashurst, the famous King's Bench judge, as did also the crew of an English privateer, the *Charlotte*, who had mutinied and carried her into the Shannon because they were ill fed. On the same day the *London Gazette* published the list of appointments to the Rockingham Ministry which had replaced that of Lord North—a change which turned out to be fortunate for Ryan.

Ryan and Coppinger were tried first, Ryan on this occasion being 'very genteely dressed in a blue coat with scarlet lining and gilt buttons, and scarlet waistcoat and breeches', while Coppinger, who since December had been allowed 6*d.* a day 'for his support', was still in brown.

The master of the *Nancy* described her capture, the ransom-bill was read out by an interpreter, and seven Irish witnesses affirmed that they had known Ryan since childhood (in one case as an infant in arms and even before), three of them having been at school with him. Captain Patton gave evidence of his being brought on board the *Belle Poule*, and the interpreter read out his French commission. Two Irish officers who had had talk with him after he was taken stated that he owned he came from near Dublin and said he had left his country because it had not used him well, that his property had been taken from him and there was no redress in Ireland for a poor man. Lieutenant Hunter of the *Berwick* said, however, that Ryan had told him he was an American. Some vague evidence was given about Coppinger by a man called Richardson who said he was the son of a Coppinger who lived at Dingle and that he had been master of a ship. Then Judge Ashurst asked Ryan if he had anything to say or would leave it to his counsel.

Ryan left it to his two counsel, Mr Peckham and Mr Morgan, who had cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution without much effect, and Mr Peckham now called one Herbert Cullen who stated that he was a pensioned-off sergeant of the French-Irish regiment of *Berwick* in which he had served for twenty-eight years, and that when quartered at Gravelines he had known a Lieutenant Joseph Ryan of *Dillon's* regiment who had had one child who Cullen believed was a boy, and had died six weeks later. That he also knew Captain James Ryan of *Dillon's* (this 'uncle' of Ryan's affidavit no more appeared at the trial than did Torris) and that he had searched the register at Gravelines for the record of the child's birth of which he produced a copy. Cross-examined by the Attorney-General he said that Torris had sent him to do this and that he had had the copy from the *curé* of Gravelines and had seen it transcribed and compared with the original in presence of the 'Bailiff' (i.e. magistrate) and *curé* of the town. He was told to read out the copy but was not allowed to read the certificate of its exactitude as the

magistrate had not signed it. According to the minutes of the trial this extract was worded: '1 march 1750 born Luke son of Joseph Ryan and Mary Ann Chauvelle.'¹

Ryan's next witness was David Kelly or Keiling, who said he had been Lieutenant Ryan's servant and remembered the birth of a boy and the death of the father and that the lieutenant's widow left Gravelines to go to Ireland. Then came James Long, a journeyman-cooper of Tower Hill who said he had been Michael Ryan's servant from the age of ten to twelve and remembered an infant called Luke, 'said to be French' being brought to the farm; he 'saw it from the age of eighteen months to three years'. When asked if he had been 'applied to' to be a witness he said that he came voluntarily because Michael Ryan had taken him into his house out of charity. He had not seen the prisoner again till last Thursday but 'knows him to be the same. He was an affectionate child.' He did not know the name of the woman who brought the child nor Mrs Ryan's Christian name.

Sir William Ashurst, summing up, told the jury they need only consider Ryan as there was nothing material against Coppinger. 'The chief point was, whether Ryan was a natural born subject or not. If they thought he was the Luke Ryan mentioned in the register they must acquit him. If they thought he was not, it would be their duty to find him guilty.' In a quarter of an hour the jury found Ryan guilty and Coppinger not guilty, but the latter was detained on another charge, perhaps to do with his journey to Dunkirk. The prisoners retired without speaking.

Macatter was then tried and as he had signed a statement before two justices at Plymouth, stating that he was an Irishman born near Rush, he was quickly found guilty, as were the ringleaders of the *Charlotte* mutineers, Daniel Casey, John Smith and Thomas Farrel or Miller. Sir James Marriott passed sentence of death on them and on Ryan and Macatter, and all five returned to Newgate which was now again in use.

While there Ryan and Macatter behaved, according to the *Morning Chronicle*, in an exemplary manner, being 'extremely helpful to many of their poor fellow-prisoners by clothing and feeding those who were most distressed, naked and hungry'. Meanwhile, Marriott made his report to the King and sentence of death by hanging at Execution Dock was approved, to take place on 14 May, Viscount Keppel, the new First Lord, signifying 'His Majesty's pleasure that the bodies of Luke Ryan, Edward Macatter other-

¹ The official Minutes (P.R.O. H.C.A./61) are in this case only a summary roughly taken down in long-hand. They are confirmed, however, by fuller and clearer accounts in the *Political Magazine* and various daily papers which agree with each other almost word for word. The supposed extract with the parents' names appears only in the Minutes. An account in the *Hibernian Magazine* makes Ryan try to pass *himself* off as Lieut. Joseph Ryan, but this is no doubt due to faulty reporting.

wise Wild and Daniel Casey should be hanged in chains in some conspicuous part of the coast of Essex or Kent'.

But on the very day fixed for the execution the *Morning Herald* reported: 'Yesterday there was a council held at the Marquis of Rockingham's supposed to be relative to the fate of the present unhappy victim, Luke Ryan, the result of which was sent to the King at Windsor, and it is expected that the execution will be put off for this day.'

The paper was well informed, for Lord Shelburne, the Secretary of State concerned, had written to the King: 'It appears that there are a number of applications in favour of Luke Ryan. It was argued that if he were pardoned, it would be unjust to condemn the other man with equal pretensions to mercy, and Lord Keppel insisted upon the hardship in such case of condemning the mutineers. Upon the whole it was agreed to submit it to your Majesty as the humble desire of the Cabinet, that the whole might be respited for ten days with a view to examining further into the several cases, understanding always that at least one of the Mutineers should in all events be executed for the example.'

George III was less inclined to mercy than Keppel. Being at the moment forced by a government he disliked into ending the war, and by Fox whom he loathed into granting near autonomy to Ireland, he felt less sympathy for an Irishman who had helped the hated French to fight for America than did apparently many of his subjects. However, he replied: 'I cannot say I admire the re-examining the opinion formed on mature deliberation for the execution of Men flying in the face of the Laws of their Country; but as the Cabinet beg for a respite for ten days, I will consent to it.'

As a result early in the morning of 14 May the Marshal of the Admiralty arrived at Newgate to announce the respite. The *Morning Chronicle* reported that he found Ryan and Macatter on their knees 'with a Roman Catholic clergyman praying with them'. On the 25th the unfortunate Casey was ordered to be executed three days later but the other four were respited 'until further order'.

It remained only a reprieve till after the Proclamation of 14 February 1783 that all acts of hostility were to cease. Then, on 24 March, Sir Evan Nepean wrote to the admiralty sending 'His Majesty's Free Pardon for Luke Ryan and Edward Macatter convicted of Piracy'.¹ But even then Ryan was not discharged, for on 27 March 1782, when he was still awaiting

¹ Beatson states (*Naval and Military Mems.*, note 262) that 'M. Calonne prevailed on the Queen of France to desire the French Plenipotentiary to request in her name a pardon for Luke Ryan which request His Britannic Majesty was pleased to grant'. This may of course be based on documentary evidence which I have not found though Calonne did not become *Contrôleur Général* till eight months after Ryan was officially pardoned and so could not as yet influence Marie Antoinette through his control of public funds.

his trial for piracy, he had also been formally 'detained . . . to answer to John Tarras (sic) in a plea of trespass . . . for £435 and upwards'. Probably this means that the creditors he must have acquired in England since his capture had been given bills on Torris which the latter would not or could not meet. The original warrant was followed at the appropriate dates by two writs of *Capias ad Satisfaciendum* ensuring that Ryan, whether or no pardoned for piracy, could still be detained for debt, and by October 1783 the debt with damages had increased to £567. In May the French Naval Minister had written to the commissioner at Dunkirk urging him to induce Torris 'to obtain the sieur Ryan's immediate release either by paying the sum he owes or by standing surety for that sum', but by now Torris was in low water and was settling with none of his captains. In January 1784 the Minister had to institute legal proceedings against him and took over his affairs and as a result Ryan was discharged from Newgate on 9 February. But that did not mean that he could recover from Torris the £7000 which he claimed was owed him, for the *armateur* died a ruined man three years later. Apparently all Ryan ever obtained was the French king's authorization *d'être reçu capitaine de vaisseau et d'en commander un à Dunkerque*.

Whether or no he ever skippered a Dunkirk vessel, he died in an English prison, though not in his old abode, Newgate. He was submitted to the King's Bench prison on 25 February 1789 by order of the Sheriff of Hampshire, according to some of the newspapers for a debt of £200 'at one of the faculty's suit for the inoculation of three of his children', which leads to speculation about his family who in view of the Hampshire sheriff possibly lived in a Hampshire port. In any case they seem not to have lived with him 'within the rules' of the King's Bench as one supposes they might, for he died alone 'within the walls' on the following 18 June. A coroner's jury of twelve of his fellow-prisoners found that it was 'a natural death . . . by the Visitation of God and not otherwise' but did not specify the disease, and the papers printed obituary notices of 'the famous Luke Ryan' often adding that he had done more damage to English shipping than any other commander—which is puzzling because he brought less spoil into Dunkirk than many others.¹

1 He comes last but two in a list given by Malo of the takings of nine of Torris's captains, but probably part of his spoil went to Calonne—and perhaps some to himself of which Torris knew nothing. The *Political Magazine's* obituary notice stated that 'in 1780 and 1781 it is said he was worth 70,000 l., the greater part of which he lodged in the hands of a famous house at Roscoff in Brittany which on his condemnation are said to have appropriated the property to their own use'. (Roscoff is near Morlaix where early in his career Ryan had sold the *Dublin* 'for the benefit of her captors'.) The *Gentleman's Magazine* says that in 1781 he lodged £20,000 with his bankers but that 'having kept a woman and passed her on them as his wife, they suffered her to draw the whole out on his conviction, and she defrauded him of every shilling'. Louis XVI's letter nominating him a Dunkirk skipper says he captured 80 English ships not counting those sunk, 60 guns and more than 500 prisoners, but this information was probably supplied by Ryan himself.

SOURCES

Unpublished

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FLAGS OF THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY HOUSE, LONDON

By H. Gresham Carr, F.R.G.S.

(The following account is the result of research work undertaken at the request of the present Deputy Master, Captain Sir Gerald Curteis, K.C.V.O., R.N., and Elder Brethren of Trinity House. The writer is greatly indebted to them for giving him permission to publish it and reproduce illustrations of the flags from the current Trinity House Service Regulations.)

IN common with those who have attempted to trace the origin and history of the Corporation of Trinity House, London, the flag research worker soon discovers that his task is indeed a formidable one. Its early records were lost during the Commonwealth (1649–59): others were destroyed as a result of a number of disastrous fires. The worst of these occurred (*a*) on two occasions at Water Lane, namely in 1666 (the Great Fire of London) and again in 1714, (*b*) at Tower Hill during the blitz on the memorable night of 30 December 1940. It is, therefore, very difficult to say with certainty when a flag was first adopted by the Corporation.

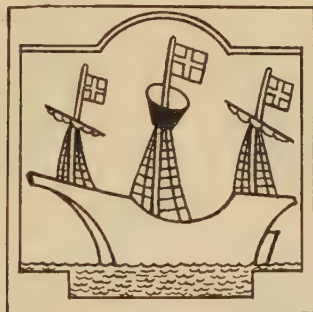


Fig. 1. Guild or fraternity of Trinity House. Charter of Henry VIII.
Probable Common Seal.

Captain Joseph Cotton, a notable Deputy Master, in his book, *Memoir on the Origin and Incorporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond*, published in 1818, points out that provision was made for a Common Seal, to 'serve and seal for the business and occasions of the said Guild or Fraternity', in the Charter of Henry VIII. He expresses the opinion that it remained in use until the reign of Elizabeth I and goes on to say: 'Although no record exists thereof, it is evidently exemplified upon the monument of Sir Thomas Spert, Knight, (Comptroller of the Navy to King Henry VIII and founder of the

Corporation), as erected by that body to his respected memory, in the year 1622, in a separate and distinct shield from his arms.' It will be seen from the accompanying illustration that this consisted of a somewhat crude representation of a three-masted ship with a banner, presumably that of St George, flying from each of the mastheads (Fig. 1).



Fig. 2

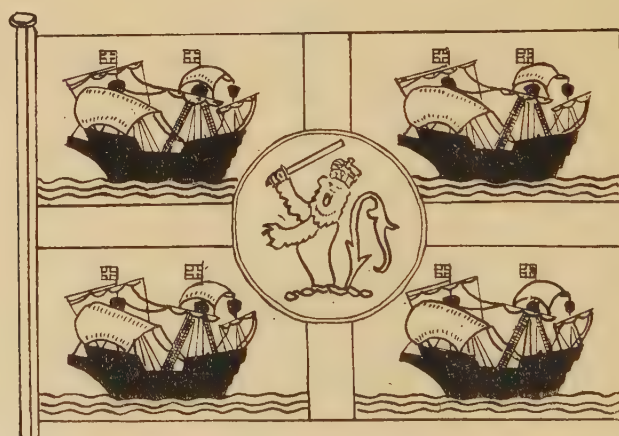


Fig. 3

He continues: 'From this the arms in 1573, which follow, were unquestionably compiled in the improved spirit of that day.' The heraldist will, no doubt, agree with this assumption, for he is well aware that devices previously used as seals frequently give him valuable information as to the origin of many Coats-of-Arms.

Captain Cotton then gives the text of the Grant of the Corporation's Coat-of-Arms as received from the College of Arms and signed by Garter Principal King of Arms in that year, together with an illustration in line. These armorial bearings consist of a white shield bearing the red cross of St George; in each quarter thus formed there is a representation of a sailing ship of the Elizabethan period, in black, sailing upon the sea towards the observer's left. Surmounting the shield is an esquire's helm with white and red mantling and crest—a demi-lion, crowned and with its head facing the observer, in gold, holding a sword in the right paw. The motto 'TRINITAS IN UNITATE' is borne on a scroll beneath the shield.

During the colourful period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries full advantage was taken to 'show' arms in banner-flag form when state barges and small craft took part in the many water processions and pageants on London River. The City Livery Companies, etc., all had their distinctive barge flags, and it seems most unlikely that the Corporation would have been found wanting in that respect. It is, therefore, probable that the Trinity House flag made its first appearance soon after the granting of the Arms in 1573. On the other hand, it may well be that these arms, and the flag, were in use prior to that date because the practice of using unauthorized arms in those days was not uncommon. In passing it should perhaps be mentioned that only the details on the shield are generally used for the banner-flag—not the full armorial bearings.

In early flag charts and books this flag was variously designated 'The flag of Trinity House of Deptford Strond', 'The Trinity House Flag', etc.; subsequently, the exact date has yet to be ascertained, it became known officially as the 'Trinity House Jack'. Indeed, it was described as such in Hounsell's *Flags of All Nations*, c. 1873—the prototype of the Admiralty flag book, the first edition of which appeared in 1875.

The reason for using the term 'jack' in this instance is not apparent: technically speaking, it should be described thus only when a diminutive of it is worn at the jack-staff.

Thus the red cross of St George between the four ships forms the basic design of the five flags which comprise the Corporation's suite of flags.

The personal flag of the Master (in modern times this office has been held by a prince of the Blood Royal—at the time of writing, H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester) has the complete display of armorial bearings superimposed in the centre of the basic four-ship design. Here again, the date of adoption has yet to be ascertained. A coloured illustration of this flag was included in Hounsell's book and also in the first edition of the Admiralty flag book, of both of which previous mention has been made. In each case the proportions

of the field were shown as being six to five. However, when the second edition of the Admiralty book appeared in 1889 these were shown as they are at the present day, namely, two to one (Fig. 2).

When the Master is embarked, this flag is flown at the main masthead; in these circumstances it has the status of a 'command' flag. It is also flown at the Trinity House, Tower Hill, London, whenever he is present.

The present writer had the honour and privilege of designing a personal flag for the Deputy Master: it was approved and adopted on 10 June 1952. This flag is similar to the Master's: however, the field is three by two and the charge in the centre thereof consists of a gold-lined red disc, the diameter of which is equal to one-half the hoist, bearing the Corporation's crest (Fig. 3).

It is flown at the main masthead when the Deputy Master is embarked and like the Master's flag has the status of a 'command' flag. Further, it is flown at district depots whenever he is present and at the Trinity House on Trinity Monday should the Master be absent.

The new flag was flown for the first time in the Trinity House vessel *Patricia* on 14 July 1952 when the Deputy Master, Captain Gerald Curteis, M.V.O., R.N. (now Captain Sir Gerald Curteis, K.C.V.O., R.N.), embarked at Harwich and proceeded to Helsinki for the Olympic Games. *En route* H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh (who had been elected an Elder Brother the preceding month) joined the vessel at Oslo, when his Personal Standard was broken at the masthead. At the express wish of the Duke, the Deputy Master's flag was flown at the yardarm—the vessel at that time having one mast only—thus giving it a 'flying start'! However, a second mast was stepped abaft the funnel just prior to the Coronation Naval Review, 15 June 1953.

An Elder Brother of Trinity House, by virtue of a Board Order dated 26 June 1928, 'is entitled when afloat to fly the Trinity House Jack at the masthead of the vessel he is on board, when he is on official duty in the service of the State, or of the Corporation of Trinity House'. Among those who have made use of this privilege are H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, Admiral the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Field Marshal the Earl Alexander of Tunis and Sir Winston Churchill.

This flag is also flown at the Trinity House on special occasions such as the birthdays of members of the Royal Family: a diminutive of it is worn at the jack-staff when (a) vessels are moored alongside or at anchor, (b) ships are dressed.

The proportions of the field of this flag are five to four; incidentally, these are substantially the same as those in use in 1873, if not before.

The Ensign has a red field bearing the Union Flag in the upper portion of the hoist, the basic four-ship design forming a rectangular panel in the

fly. The earliest known pictorial representation of this Ensign and also the 'jack' are shown in the pictures 'The Trinity House Yacht approaching the mouth of the Humber to inspect the new Lighthouse on Spurn Point on 7 April 1777' by F. Holman, and 'The Trinity House Yacht off the Caskets' by Thomas Whitcombe, 1795. However, it may well be that this Ensign had been in use for a period up to sixty years prior to 1777. These pictures now hang in the Trinity House once again, the restoration of the blitzed building having been completed in 1953.

The proportions of this Ensign were three to two, with the Union Flag occupying two-fifths of the hoist. However, on 1 December 1953 it was decided to amend them to two to one, with the Union Flag occupying the first quarter of the field: at the same time the rectangular panel was placed in the centre of the fly.

All Trinity House vessels, tenders and lightships wear this Ensign: it is also flown at (a) all the Corporation's lighthouses, (b) the Trinity House throughout the year, except on those occasions when special distinguishing flags are flown, (c) district depots in addition to the Burgee (see below), always providing the necessary facilities exist for so doing.

The Burgee (or Cornet) consists of a red triangular flag, proportions three to two, bearing the basic four-ship design in a rectangular panel similar to that on the Ensign. It is flown at (a) the masthead in tenders when they are in port: also when they are under way with the District Superintendent on board, (b) all district depots.

The Corporation of Trinity House, as the chief pilotage authority around our coasts, has been closely associated with Royal Yachts ever since they were introduced into this country by Charles II on his return in 1660. The first prescriptive duty in this connexion comprised embarking one or more of its pilots in the Royal Yacht whenever the Sovereign was on board and when navigating in pilotage waters. Subsequently, it became the custom for a vessel of the Corporation to escort and precede the Royal Yacht when the Sovereign embarked in her. Commander Hilary P. Mead, in his 'Trinity House', expresses the opinion that this very jealously guarded prerogative dates from August 1822 when George IV went to Scotland in the Royal Yacht *Royal George*.

An incident occurred on 21 May 1894 when the right to fly the White Ensign on board the Trinity House Steam Vessel *Satellite* was challenged by the Commanding Officer of H.M.S. *Mersey*. The Elder Brethren were unable to produce any written authority for their practice of flying the White Ensign in their vessels on all occasions when ships were dressed. They claimed that the practice was observed prior to 9 July 1864 when, in accordance with an Order in Council, Squadron Colours were abandoned

and the White Ensign was allocated to the Royal Navy, the Blue Ensign to the Royal Naval Reserve and the Red Ensign to the Merchant Service.

The Elder Brethren therefore petitioned the Admiralty to grant them a warrant. However, it was decided that the matter did not justify a formal warrant, also that the required authority should be conveyed by letter. The Secretary of Trinity House duly received a letter under reference no. L. 4608 dated 21 June 1894 which reads as follows:

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 18th instant, No. 2387, I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to convey to you their permission for the Elder Brethren of Trinity House to fly the White Ensign of H.M. Fleet on board their Steam and Sailing Vessels on all occasions upon which Ships are dressed, and while escorting Her Majesty in company with Royal Yachts and Ships of War.

2. A copy of this letter may be produced as authority for the use of the White Ensign on the occasions referred to above.

I am Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) EVAN MACGREGOR

A copy of this letter is always carried on board all Trinity House vessels in order that the Elder Brethren shall not be found wanting in the event of a similar challenge being made in the future.

Mention has already been made of the Corporation's jealously guarded prerogative of escorting the Royal Yacht when the Sovereign is on board. In modern times the Trinity House vessel *Patricia* performs this duty, undertaken only at Naval Reviews and on other special occasions.

At the Coronation Naval Review on 15 June 1953 she flew the Deputy Master's flag at the main masthead (the Master, H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, having embarked in H.M.S. *Surprise*—commissioned as a Royal Yacht for the occasion because the building of H.M.Y. *Britannia* had yet to be completed) and the White Ensign at the fore masthead: she wore the Trinity House ensign at the stern and a diminutive of the Trinity House jack at the jack-staff. In accordance with long established custom these flag arrangements obtained throughout the period during which she was employed on escort duties.

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh completed the last stage of their Commonwealth Tour in the Royal Yacht *Britannia*, having transferred from the *Gothic* at Tobruk, North Africa. The *Patricia*, with H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester on board, met the *Britannia* at the Nore on 15 May 1954 and escorted her up the Thames. The flag arrangements in the former were similar to those mentioned above except that the Master's flag was flown at the main masthead.

H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh flew his Personal Standard at the main

masthead in the *Briannia* when he returned in her from Canada during August 1954. At the same time the Union Flag (the flag of an Admiral-of-the-Fleet afloat) and the Trinity House jack (the flag of an Elder Brother afloat) were flown at the fore and mizzen mastheads respectively.

In this connexion, it is interesting to recall that when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King George V) embarked in the Royal Yacht *Victoria and Albert III* to attend the coronation of the King and Queen of Norway in June 1906 he flew his Personal Standard at the main masthead and the flag of the Master of Trinity House at the fore masthead.¹ The same procedure was adopted in the *Ophir* during his colonial tour and also in H.M.S. *Indomitable* when he went to Quebec.²

A somewhat similar arrangement obtained when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VIII), an Elder Brother, flew his Personal Standard in conjunction with the Trinity House jack in H.M.S. *Renown* when he went to India in 1921.³

¹ Gavin's *Royal Yachts*, p. 233. Rich & Cowan, Ltd., 1932.

² Cecil King's 'The King's Flags and Some Others', *M.M.*, 1952, Vol. xxxviii, No. 2, p. 96.

³ *Ibid.*

DIANA VERSUS CARAVAN AND TOPAZ

By Anthony Steel

ANGLO-AMERICAN disputes about impressment in the Napoleonic period related mainly to the high seas: the Americans did not contest the British practice in British ports and waters, while the British gave it up at an early stage as far as American ports and waters were concerned.¹ But 'the high seas' is a vague term, with world-wide implications, whereas the fact is that practically all the impressments of which the Americans complained took place in the North Atlantic, and little has ever been heard of any similar happenings elsewhere. It is all the more interesting to find traces of a vivid story relating to the then little-visited China seas—a story which proves that, if the British practice was normally confined to the Atlantic, the principle could be and was asserted anywhere.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the China trade was regarded as a small but profitable annexe to the Far Eastern monopoly established by the Honourable East India Company. It is true that those ancient allies of the British, the Portuguese, had long been settled in Macao, and that their activities were tolerated, but the only other interlopers, the French and Dutch, were definitely enemies, while the Spanish seem to have confined their interest to the Philippines. The gradual infiltration of American shipping on the scene, as the result of the war of independence, began on a very small scale and passed almost unnoticed for some years: it seems to have been built on the discovery that there was a profitable market in Canton for the pelts of the Pacific sea-otter. The voyages involved were, however, so formidable that relatively few ships embarked on them. It meant sailing from some New England port round the Horn to the north Pacific, making a prolonged stay on a wild and desolate coast, inhabited at that date only by Red Indians,² and then embarking on the long and dangerous voyage to China with an uncertain reception at the other end. Return would normally be west-about round the Cape of Good Hope, so that each voyage involved a circle of the globe. Canton was the only Chinese port to which foreigners

¹ See my article on 'Anthony Merry and the Anglo-American Dispute about Impressment, 1803-06', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. ix, no. 3 (1949), pp. 331-51. Even the *Chesapeake* affair (22 June 1807) took place a few miles outside American territorial waters, while in any case the action of the Royal Navy on that occasion, being directed against a neutral warship, not a merchantman, was officially repudiated by the Foreign Office.

² Astoria (1811) and other Pacific settlements connected with the fur-trade were not founded until the second decade of the century.

were then admitted and—apart from British jealousy and interference—the conduct of business was hedged about by the mandarins themselves with the most fantastic regulations.¹

It is hardly surprising then that American interlopers were comparatively rare and, though their presence was resented, were not thought of as a serious menace by the directors of the East India Company. None the less their activities were believed to be illegal and, as we shall see, they could also bear a doubtful character on other grounds, being suspected on occasion of piracy. This may have arisen from the fact that the dangers of the voyage were such that all their ships were armed—incidentally a precaution taken by the East Indiamen themselves—but apart from this their masters and crews must obviously have been tough, though not necessarily dishonest, characters. Finally the crews themselves were a valuable commodity in those remote seas, where sickness might easily leave a ship dangerously short-handed for the long return voyage to Europe or America, so that experienced white seamen who could be impressed or forcibly transferred from one ship to another were worth their weight in gold. Light forces of the Royal Navy patrolling the South China Seas were perpetually on the look-out for such seamen—or so the Americans believed—and that is how the particular incidents described below arose, at any rate in American estimation.

The first hint of them occurs in an anonymous newspaper cutting taken from the American press by Erskine, British minister at Washington, and sent to Canning early in December 1807.² This cutting is concerned mainly with the recent *Chesapeake* affair, the history of which it recites with reasonable accuracy as far as the bare facts of the encounter with the *Leopard* are concerned, while concluding, somewhat extravagantly, that His Majesty's officers are men 'whose interest and wish is war with all mankind'. There is a lot more nonsense in this extract about the lengths to which the British might be expected to go in future if they were not actively resisted by America, but the main point for our present purpose lies in an aside to the effect that impressment had *already* been practised by the Royal Navy 'in foreign ports and countries, particularly in Canton, in Lisbon, and now lately in Madeira'. The only instances I know affecting Lisbon were repudiated by the Admiralty itself³ and I have found no traces in the Public Record office of any incident in Madeira, which is not to say that something

¹ For a striking picture of the restrictions still placed by the Chinese themselves upon the Canton trade about a generation later, see Maurice Collis, *Foreign Mud* (London, 1946). Cf. M. M. Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China* (Cambridge, 1951).

² F.O. 5/52: enclosure in Erskine's no. 29 to Canning, 2 December 1807.

³ See my article on 'Impressment in the Monroe-Pinkney Negotiation, 1806-07', *American Historical Review*, Vol. LVII, no. 2 (January 1952), p. 356, n. 16.

of the sort might not well have taken place. But if so there is no contributory evidence, whereas in the case of Canton it happens that we have, if not complete coverage, at any rate chapter and verse for two distinct episodes at least. Both of these occurred in the immediate neighbourhood of that port in the summer of 1807—one on 26 and 27 July and the other on 7 August—and by a fortunate chance vivid eyewitness's accounts of both of them, the first not only from the American but also from the British point of view, remain on record. The same British warship, H.M. brig *Diana*, Lieutenant William Kempthorne, was concerned on both occasions, and the first encounter was with the American merchantman *Caravan*, master, James Gilchrist. The affair was reported just a fortnight later by Edward Carrington, United States Consul at Canton, to E. H. Locker, secretary to 'H.B.M. Admiral commanding in India' (Sir Edward Pellew),¹ and a sworn declaration made by Captain Gilchrist was enclosed. There was, however, no direct contact between the consul and this rather distant admiral other than that afforded by the Royal Navy itself, so this communication was made in the first instance through Lieutenant Owen, H.M. brig *Seaflower*, 'as senior officer of H.M.'s Ships in China', who transmitted it to his own immediately superior officer, Captain P. B. Bellew, H.M.S. *Phaeton*, who in turn passed it to his father, the Admiral.² In the meantime (11 August) the commander of the *Diana* made his own report to Captain Pellew direct in a despatch relating not only to the *Caravan* but also to a second American merchantman, the *Topaz*, with which more serious trouble had occurred a few days later. The report about the *Caravan*, like the American report, was fortified by the deposition of an eyewitness, Thomas Prawitt, master on the *Diana*. No such additional evidence was offered by either side in relation to the *Topaz* incident, but in that connexion Lieutenant Kempthorne had himself played the leading part and made a reasonably full statement of his own. Captain Pellew was thus placed in possession of all the relevant facts submitted by both sides for the *Caravan* affair, but of the British version only for the *Topaz*. His own despatch to the C.-in-C., India, with all this evidence attached to it, does not seem to have reached Sir Edward Pellew until 10 November 1807. On that date Locker wrote to Carrington that the American complaint had only just arrived that day but had at once been submitted to the C.-in-C., who had desired him to inform the United States Consul at Canton 'that whenever the *Diana* rejoins the Flag, a minute Investigation will be made into the circumstances of the Transaction therein

1 F.O. 5/61: America, Domestic; Carrington to Locker, 10 August 1807.

2 Gilchrist's declaration is attached to Captain Pellew's letter in the papers as we have them in the Foreign Office file. The reference for all the documents mentioned in the text remains F.O. 5/61 until further notice, under the appropriate dates. Cf. C. N. Parkinson, *War in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1815* (London, 1954) for the Pellew family.

mentioned the result of which, I shall have the honor to convey to you at the earliest period of time'. He goes on:

His Excellency has further commanded me to express to you his earnest and uniform desire to preserve that harmony and good understanding between the Subjects of the two nations at Amity, so essential to their reciprocal Welfare and that he will experience the most sincere regret should it be hereafter proved that an Officer under his Command has violated the neutrality which he is at all times so anxious to maintain.

Sir Edward Pellew was in fact better than his word, for without waiting for the return of the *Diana* he sent copies of all the papers to the Admiralty within the next forty-eight hours. It is true that he concluded his despatch by saying:

I have every reason to hope from a Knowledge of Lieutenant Kempthorne's Character that an Investigation of the Circumstances will exculpate him from every blame in this transaction and that the Conduct of the Master of the Brig, will have justified the proceedings which subsequently took place.

But the rapidity and nature of his action do at least suggest that he took a serious view of the whole business and was anxious to placate the Americans, provided that this could be done without showing injustice to a junior officer. This conforms with what we know of Admiralty policy at this date and shows that at least some flag officers were more in tune with it than the C.-in-C. Halifax, the notorious Vice-Admiral Berkeley who had precipitated the *Chesapeake* incident by ordering the enforcement of the British 'right' of search even against neutral ships of war.

It was another seven months and more before Sir Edward's despatches reached Whitehall, but on 28 June 1808 John Barrow, the new Secretary to the Admiralty, was able to send the papers relating to the *Caravan* affair, on the instruction of their Lordships, to the Foreign Office, for the information of Mr Secretary Canning. There is no mention of the *Topaz* incident at this stage, though the State Department had already heard about it. For Carrington, not content with his protest to the British Naval authorities, had in duty bound transmitted a report to his own Government, and even seems to have discovered some additional misdeeds by other British naval officers serving in his neighbourhood, including the commander of the *Phaeton*, Captain P. B. Pellew, himself. At any rate, on 29 July 1808 William Pinkney, now United States minister in London, sent the following letter to Canning:¹

Mr. Pinkney presents his Compliments to his Excellency Mr. Canning, and has the Honor to enclose Copies of several Documents (*not in file*) lately entrusted to him by the Secretary of State of the United States, respecting certain proceedings of British Naval Commanders in the Chinese Seas (of the *Phaeton*, *Bellona* (*pencil correction*, *Blanche*), and *Diana*) which Mr. Pinkney is sure

1 F.O. 5/60: Pinkney to Canning, 29 July 1808.

his Majesty's Government will be induced, by what it owes to its own Honour, as well as to the unquestionable rights of the United States and of the Individuals whom these Proceedings have injured, to consider as fit Subjects for prompt and exemplary Interposition.

It appears from the Correspondence of the Commander of the Phaeton with the American Consul at Canton, that, having undertaken to sit in Judgment upon a Claim, which he thought proper to take under his protection, of a British Subject, against a Citizen of the United States, as the Drawer of a Bill of Exchange, that officer attempted to enforce the payment of this Demand (in itself palpably illegal) by means the most irregular and oppressive, operating, not on the supposed Debtor, but upon the Mariners composing his Crew; that he threatened that, if this Injustice should not be sufficient to extort that payment, as well as the payment of Wages alledged to be due to Native American Citizens, taken by violence a short time before from the Belisarius, he would, with a view to this twofold object, go to Whampoa with two hundred Men, and occupying the extra Ship Retreat (*sic*), act as Circumstances should require, and that moreover he would take from every American Vessel that should sail up the River, a part of her Crew. . . .

The same Correspondence and the Depositions of Sundry Witnesses will be found to prove the taking from the American Ship Belisarius, by a boat from the Bellona, near the Ladrone Islands, of five Mariners, and the Detention of these Men after they had been twice formally demanded, and after four of them had been shewn, by precise and positive Testimony, and had even been admitted by the Commander of the Phaeton, in his Letter to the American Consul of the 9th of October 1807, to be natural born Citizens of the United States.

The other Transaction mentioned in these Documents is an attack, without, as it would appear, any justifying Inducement, by the armed Boats of the Diana, upon the American Ship 'the Topaz' resulting in the Death of the Master of the Topaz, and in the capture of the Vessel.

Mr. Pinkney has the Honour, in consequence of the orders of the President, to call the particular attention of His Majesty's Government to this Case, and to express his entire conviction, not only that this and the other wrongs of which he complains will be amply redressed, but that their Authors will be dealt with in such a manner as to prevent the occurrence of similar Outrages in future. . . .

Mr. Pinkney requests Mr. Canning to accept the assurances of his high consideration. . . .

This letter raises several points of interest, the first of which is the allegation that the *Topaz* affair was merely the culminating point in a long series of high-handed actions connected with impressment, carried out by even the more senior British naval officers in the South China Seas. I have not been able to test the truth of this statement as a whole, but in this period I have never found cases of smoke without fire, that is, of Americans deliberately fabricating such incidents, however prejudiced the interpretation might be which they subsequently placed upon them. We may therefore assume that this letter provides a more or less authentic background for the *Topaz* and *Caravan* affairs, though of course it is coloured by the American point of view. The second item of interest is that the *Caravan* episode is not even mentioned by Pinkney, though it must have been described in Carrington's reports and must therefore have come within the purview of the Secretary of State. It was unlike the Americans not to make full diplomatic use of any fracas with the British, however trivial, but we can only assume that in this instance their minister believed it better to confine himself to actual cases of proved injury to American property or alleged American citizens. Now although, as we shall see, the *Caravan* had been

subjected to what was, from the American angle, a good deal of insult and interference, no serious casualty had been inflicted on her, no actual damage done, and no impressment, though threatened, put into effect. Lieutenant Kempthorne's action may therefore have been regarded as an unsuccessful attempt to implement the British threats mentioned at the close of Pinkney's second paragraph, though even so it is odd that he did not think it worth while making any specific reference to the *Caravan*. I have not found any British version of the other events mentioned in Pinkney's second and third paragraphs: for his next complaint, about the *Topaz*, we have of course Kempthorne's own story, which I quote in full at the conclusion of this article.

Pinkney's note to Canning resulted as usual in the ball being returned from the Foreign Office to the Admiralty, whereupon their Lordships directed Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew to 'make enquiry into the circumstances complained of'.¹ There the trail ends for the time being, but before passing judgement it is necessary to hear the principal actors in this two-act drama played outside Canton in the late summer of 1807. The Americans having been the plaintiffs let us first listen to their side of the case. The complaint of Captain Gilchrist of the *Caravan* ran, somewhat breathlessly, as follows:

On Sunday the 26th day of July 1807, I went on shore at Macoa (*sic*) to report my vessel, and procure a Pilot for Whampoa, and returned on board in the afternoon of that day, after my return my Mate informed me that a Boat from His Britannic Majesty's Brig Diana then lying in the Typa, had visited the Caravan and that the Officer of said Boat had demanded Peter Swan, a Frenchman, and seamen belonging to the Caravan, soon after my return on board, the said Boat from said Brig Diana again visited the Caravan and the Officer of the said Boat demanded that Peter Swan, should be delivered to him, the Officer, to be taken on board the Diana, I told the Officer that Peter Swan was a Frenchman, that he had resided at Boston for a number of Years, that he engaged with me in Boston, and was engaged to perform the voyage round, that said Swan had been taken out of the Caravan at Penang, and carried on board H.B.M.'s ship Belona (*sic*), and that said Swan had been returned on board the Caravan by the Orders of Captain Farrier of H.B.M.'s ship Albion, then Senior Officer on the Penang station, all of which circumstances were well known to the Commander of the Diana, the said Officer answered me by saying that Captain Farrier had no business to have returned said Swan that they (meaning the Commander etc. of the Diana) did not care for what Captain Farrier had done, that they had Orders to take Swan, and that he must have him, I told the Officer that I would not part with Swan to the Officer then ordered Swan to go into the Boat, I ordered Swan to go below, the Officer said he would have Swan, and ordered his Men and a Midshipman, to go below, and bring Swan up, the Midshipman went below with his Men, and ordered Swan upon Deck, but Swan did not obey them, the Officer then came to me and asked me, if I would deliver up the Man meaning Swan, I told the Officer I would not part with him, Swan, the Officer then said to me, you will not deliver up the Man, the Officer then went into his Boat, saying as he went over the side of the Caravan, he believed my conduct would be the means of My losing two Men; On Monday the 27th day of July, 1807, at 6 O'Clock A.M. I saw the Diana under sail, and with a very right (*sic*) wind, towing

1 F.O. 5/61: Barrow to Hammond, 11 August 1808.

out of the Typa, at 1 O'Clock P.M. of the same day, my Pilot came on board, and at 2 O'Clock I made sail for Whampoa, soon after sail was made on the Caravan, the Diana fired a shot, to bring to the Caravan, and I accordingly brought her to, the Diana, then sent her Boat, with an Officer who demanded Peter Swan I told the Officer that Swan had left the Vessel, the Officer said he must search for him, I told him to satisfy himself, and provided him with Lights for the purpose of searching, the Officer searched minutely, and said he could not find Swan and added he must take every man who had not protections—I had a Dutchman in the Caravan, who was put on board in Penang B. (*sic*) Captain Farrier of H.B.M.S. Albion the Officer took the Dutchman and carried him to the Diana from whence he soon returned bringing the Dutchman on board the Caravan, and said to me, that if I did not deliver Swan, he would take my Carpenter, I again told him that Swan was not on board the Caravan, and it was impossible for me to deliver him, that the Carpenter of the Caravan was an American that I knew his family, and that he had a Protection, the Officer repeated, that he had orders to take him (meaning the Carpenter) I then told the Officer he should not take the Carpenter, the Officer returned again to the Diana, leaving the Dutchman with me, when the Officer had reached the Diana, she put about, and with all sail set, run on board the Caravan, endangering the Caravan's Hull, Masts, Yards, Rigging, etc. and immediately the Commander of the Diana, a Lieutenant William Kempthorne, with about forty of his Men, in the most ferocious and outrageous manner, entered the Caravan each armed with a Pistol and a drawn Sword, the first demand of the Commander of the Diana was 'what is all this trouble you have been putting us to', I answered him I have put you to no trouble, it is of your own seeking and I cannot help it. 'Well Sir said the Commander of the Diana, order Peter Swan up immediately I told him Peter Swan was not on board that he had left the Vessel, no such thing Sir was the reply of the Commander of the Diana, I said it was truth, It is no such thing said the Commander of the Diana and added if you do not deliver up Swan I will take your Carpenter. I told him my Carpenter was an American he said he cared not for his being an American, or his having a Protection and that he would have the Carpenter, and at the same time I ordered the Carpenter to go below; the Commander of the Diana ordered the Carpenter on board the Diana and told his men to seize him, the Carpenter; when I pushed the Carpenter below, the Commander of the Diana ordered his Men to go below and bring up the Carpenter, his Men went below and returned without the Carpenter, he then ordered his men to seize the first Man they could get hold of, the Men attempted to seize two or three, which I rescued and ordered below the Commander of the Diana then asked his Men to seize Me and tie Me when I called for my Sword, and stood on the defensive, at this time one of my Men was on deck, the Men from the Diana were attempting to seize him, I defended him, until I received a blow with a Cutlass across the fore finger of my right hand, the Commander of the Diana then called to his Men, confine him, seize him, tie him, meaning me, his Men rushed upon me, hove me on Deck and tied me, my first Mate coming to my assistance, they seized him and tied him also, my second Mate came also to my assistance, they seized him, threw him down, tied him, tied a rope to him, threw him overboard and hauled him on board the Diana.

The Diana then shoved off, and dropped astern from the Caravan about a Mile when she made sail towards the Caravan, and came within about a quarter of a mile of her, when she sent her Boat to the Caravan, and returned my second Mate. The Midshipman of the Diana who came with the second Mate, begged I would hold no enmity towards him that he the Midshipman was not to blame, as he acted by his Commander's Orders, much other conversation took place between the Commander of the Diana, and myself. I told him he was very well acquainted with the circumstances that took place at Penang, respecting Peter Swan, that he the Commander of the Diana, was then at Penang and he knew that Captain Farrier of H.M.S. Albion had directed Swan to be returned to the Caravan from the Bellona at first the Commander of the Diana said he knew no such thing of Swan's being taken out of the Caravan at Penang, or of his being returned by Captain Farrier. I told him he did know it, and I would prove it by his own surgeon.

The Commander of the Diana then said he cared not for Captain Farrier, that he was out of the reach of him and that he Captain Farrier had no business to order Swan to be returned. I asked the Commander of the Diana why he came on board my Vessel in that hostile manner he answered

me by taking off the Apron of one of the Caravan's Guns which was loaded 'what is this for said he', I answered him to fight Ladrones, he then said 'you threaten to oppose me' I answered him that it was no such thing that I had given no opposition to his Boats coming on board or to his Men's searching Caravan.

(signed) J. Gilchrist.

Canton 10th August 1807.

Before me personally appeared James Gilchrist Master of the Brig Caravan and on oath declared that the foregoing declaration by him subscribed is true.

(signed) Edward Carrington

Consul of the U.S.A.

Canton August 10th 1807.

Before me personally appeared John Plummer Clerk to James Gilchrist and Samuel Muir Mate of the Brig Caravan who having severally read the foregoing declaration subscribed by James Gilchrist on oath severally declared the same to be true.

signed { J. Plummer
Samuel Muir
Edward Carrington

Consul of the U.S.A.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal of Office at Canton this 10th day of August 1807.

Edwd Carrington.
U.S.A.

Naturally the British version of the incident puts a somewhat different complexion on the whole affair, so before making any comment on Gilchrist's declaration it may be as well to add the brief summary by Lieutenant Kempthorne constituting the first paragraph of that officer's report to Captain Pellew:¹

Sir

In compliance with your Orders, 6th July date, I lay in the Typee until the 27th July, when from the Insolent behaviour of the Master of the American Brig Caravan then lying in Madras (*sic*) Roads, I found it necessary to lay H.M. Brig along side of her and to prevent Blood being spil'd as much as possible was necessitated to bind the Master and mate. I inclose you the disposition of the (*sic*) H.M. Brig (? sc. 'the deposition of the master of H.M. Brig') on that occasion, I then returned to the Typa where I lay untill August when H.M. Brig was hauled out for the reasons I have already stated to you...

Was Kempthorne in the wrong?

At first glance the excited and repetitive complaints of the master of the Caravan are by no means unconvincing, though it seems odd that he should, if perfectly sober, have thought it worth while to call for his cutlass and endeavour to fight forty men armed with swords and pistols, even with the assistance of his first and second mates. It is also worth remarking that he was only prepared to let his vessel be searched for the man Swan at a time when he knew very well that Swan was no longer on board. Indeed the more

¹ F.O. 5/61: Kempthorne to Pellew, 11 August 1807.

closely one looks into his story the more doubtful one becomes as to whether all this righteous indignation was justified. The whole affair turns upon the question whether the master of the Caravan could be compelled to surrender an admitted Frenchman, Peter Swan, that is, an enemy subject employed upon a neutral merchant vessel in time of war. The American case was, briefly, that the man had already been seized once by the Royal Navy and released (at Penang), and was therefore immune from recapture; but, although it was alleged that he had 'resided in Boston for a number of Years', there was no attempt to prove that he had acquired American nationality. When Lieutenant Kempthorne refused to take into account any alleged previous action by his Service and attempted to settle Swan's fate on what he took to be its merits, Captain Gilchrist fell back on prolonged obstruction, ending in an obvious connivance at Swan's escape ashore. The *Diana* then impressed a Dutchman, but, for reasons which will emerge later on, returned him almost immediately. She then tried to take the Caravan's carpenter (who possessed an American protection) or any other man she could get hold of in his place. It was this attempt which led to the boarding of the Caravan by an armed party and the temporary seizure and ducking of her second mate. The mate was returned, however, almost as promptly as the Dutchman, whereupon the incident seems to have fizzled out with a lot of angry back-chat from each side.

The British eyewitness account of all this (given of course in complete ignorance of the American version) was enclosed in Kempthorne's report of 11 August to Captain Pellew. It runs as follows:

'Copy. The deposition of Thomas Prawitt Master

Declares that he was ordered by Lieutenant Kempthorne to board a Ship and Brig lying in Macao Roads (H.M. Brig being at this time in the Typee) on the 26th of July his report he states as follows (Viz.) the Ship a Portuguese from Bombay to Macao. . . . The Brig an American called the Caravan from Boston to Canton, he reports that on examining the rolle of Equipage there appeared one Man unprotected named Peter Swan a Frenchman who at that time was on Shore in the Boat for a Pilot, he was then ordered to return to the Caravan and wait the arrival of the Boat and take Peter Swan out of the Brig on his return to the Brig he found Peter Swan on board on mentioning his Order to the Captain of the said Vessel was told the Man should not quit the Brig unless force of Arms was used, at the same time ordered the Man below, Mr. Prawitt then sent two men below to bring him on Deck, the instant they were below the Company of the said Brig prevented the Men's return on deck and opposed their seizing Swan, with Billets of Wood, Handspikes and Knives, on his releasing the Men confined the Captain ordered his Men to secure Swan below, finding such determined opposition he quitted the Vessel, and reported to his Commander his proceedings—on the 27th the Diana being near the American Brig he was again ordered to board the Caravan—and ask the Captain whether force of Arms were still necessary to remove Swan, his answer was that Swan had run during the Night, which he reported to his Commander, he was then ordered to return to the Caravan and unless Swan was produced to impress the Carpenter, this was also opposed, the Captain of the Caravan then told him he was not at all afraid of H.M. Brigg, and that so long as the Caravan could swim no Man should be taken

from his Vessel at the same time made every preparation for action, telling me (*sic*) he had no doubt as to his equality of force with H.M. Brig, that his people were well disposed to defend the Caravan and he had no doubt of their ability to do so, on my return Lieutenant Kempthorne ordered a party of boarders to be equipped and running H.M. Brig Diana alongside the Caravan, and boarded her to which no opposition was made, though every preparation was made for immediate action, Guns Musquets, and Pistols loaded and primed Matched on Deck etc. on taking possession of her, I heard the Captain make use of the most pointed and insulting Language possible to Lieutenant Kempthorne. . . asking the reason his Vessel was boarded in that hostile Way, on Lieutenant Kempthorne's referring to the inutility of sending his Boats which met with nothing but opposition, and to his message of defiance at the same time noticing his preparation for immediate Action, was answered with a most insulting Sneer that no preparation had been made for action to engage H.M. Brig that it was only for the Ladrones which poor miserable wretches were afraid of (at this time he did not appear to be perfectly sober, and from which time he became excessively unruly) shortly after this Lieutenant Kempthorne quitted the Brig having taken a Seaman from the Caravan with him, and left me with the Starboard Watch on board with orders to send an American Seaman on board the Diana, as the Carpenter was stowed away and after every search could not be found and the man taken did not belong to the Caravan's Crew, this I endeavoured to put in Execution, the Captain armed with a Sword assisted by the Mates some of whom were armed, opposed this Order being put in Execution swearing they would shed the last drop of their blood before a man should quit the Vessel, in consequence of this the Crew who had been plied with Grog assisted the Officers and the Scuffle became general the Captain leading in the most decided manner which rendered it necessary for Lieutenant Kempthorne with the rest of the boarders to return and from the decided part taken by the Captain rendered it absolutely necessary to secure him which was done with all lenity possible in such a Case, this done the Second Mate was seized and sent on board the Diana, and in half an hour was sent back. . . . From the wild way in which the Captain used his Sword, and in our endeavour to disarm him I think it most likely he received some slight wounds, I myself received a slight wound in My hand, and had his Cutlass run through my Jacket at the Elbow, I also heard Lieutenant Kempthorne give strict orders that arms were not to be made use of unless absolutely necessary. . . to the truth of which I am willing to make Oath.'

It will be seen from this account that there is not much doubt about the main facts of the incident. What about the interpretation of them?

In the first place it is clear that Captain Gilchrist did not offer any written evidence that Swan had already been examined and released by the Royal Navy: Lieutenant Kempthorne was required to take his word for it and the man was deliberately withheld from questioning. Secondly, Swan had no American protection and was indeed the only member of the Caravan's crew who did not have one—easy as they were to acquire. Thirdly, he was an enemy national and therefore fair game. We may conclude then that on the main issue Gilchrist was wholly in the wrong. He was also wrong to use obstruction—if not, technically, force—and to assist the man's escape; and all this, coupled with an undoubtedly offensive manner, must have constituted considerable provocation. Nor was he justified in resisting the *Diana's* search parties, as the law was understood at that date; indeed, as late as the notorious *Trent* case in 1861 the Americans themselves maintained the right of a belligerent to search a neutral merchant vessel under threat of force, and to remove enemy civilians from her.

On the other hand, the British effort to obtain a substitute for the elusive Swan is equally impossible to justify. Their first choice, the Dutchman, was returned because, as Prawitt says, 'the man taken did not belong to the Caravan's Crew', whereas Swan, as Captain Gilchrist had himself insisted, had been signed on for the round voyage. To accept the recently imposed Dutch 'passenger' in place of Swan was therefore not to penalize the *Caravan*, and Kempthorne not unnaturally wished to penalize her for her captain's obstinacy. He therefore tried to take the ship's carpenter, which was entirely indefensible, for not even the British alleged that the carpenter was anything but a native American citizen. When defeated in this project, Kempthorne did in fact remove the second mate, who was also an American, though only as a gesture, since he was returned in half an hour. Kempthorne had obviously no right to do this or to duck the unfortunate man in the process: it was in fact a high-handed, and indeed illegal, action.

The whole quarrel was therefore in a sense six of one and half a dozen of the other, but I think that any impartial reader of the two depositions, having regard to the state of international law at that time, will admit that the balance of right was on the British side: nor can it be held a plea in mitigation that the captain of the *Caravan* was obviously drunk upon the 27th, and for all we know also on the 26th, of July. The most astonishing feature about the whole episode is the failure of each side to use its own best argument. The British said nothing about their undisputed right—as right was then understood—to seize an enemy national sailing in a neutral merchant vessel simply because he was an enemy; while the Americans said nothing about the series of insults to their Flag. On the whole, then, Pinkney was perhaps well-advised to pass over the whole affair in silence: or he may have done so just because he was himself a first-class lawyer. But when it came to the *Topaz* incident, that was quite another matter. We do not know what Carrington had told the State Department, and therefore indirectly Pinkney, but it was no doubt something very different from Kempthorne's version. This survives in the second part of his report of 11 August, the first part of which, relating to the *Caravan*, has already been quoted above. The rest of the report runs as follows:

On the 7th August when the American Schooner *Topaze* from the North West Coast of America arrived in Macao Roads the Master boarded her and examined the Men's protections, thought them with her papers correct, and reported them so to me, on the 8th in the morning a note was sent me, from two of her Crew, stating that they were English Volunteers, they were sent for, and on mustering the Crew four men entered, these men informed me that the voyage was irregular, on which I questioned the Master particularly as to his papers, which after much searching for he informed me were not complete he produced a register and rolle of Equipage with an Invoice of his Cargo, from his Owners, also the Articles of agreement between himself and the Ship's Company, by which it appears he was bound to the North West Coast of America and back

direct to Baltimore, I mentioned the want of his Port Clearance bills of trading etc. which he satisfied me in, for the moment, shewing me in his Log that mention had been made of their loss, I made him pay the Men their wages, and returned to the Diana... The Captain told me he should remain a length of time in the Typa: I have (*sic*) scarcely got on board the Brig, when I saw the Schooner getting under weigh, the Men who had volunteered at the same time telling me that she had been Pirating under English Colours, and was making her escape Knowing that they would inform, I instantly manned the Boats and went to examine her more strictly but was refused admission on board, the Crew consisting of twenty-four all appearing armed, chiefly with Pikes, the Captain and a few others with blunderbusses and other fire Arms, on this I pushed alongside and attempted to throw the boats crews on deck, and hove the Schooner too (*sic*) as she was going so fast through the Water. I thought the other boat could not come, the attempt was not attended with success, the boats crew were driven back, the midshipman of the boats wounded, I also received a wound in the Hand another in the back and was thrown overboard shortly the other boat came up, one boat was placed on each Quarter, when an obstinate resistance was made, untill the Master was killed, when from the Steady behaviour of Officers and men, in the boats they then succeeded in getting on deck, and carrying the Vessel. I regret that we have two men dangerously wounded, the Americans have five, but I believe (*sic*) none dangerously, the Cargo consisted of Specie, and part of her original lading...

I remain Sir, with respect etc.
(*signed*) William Kempthorne

A True Copy
signed P. B. Pellew
To P. B. Pellew Esq.
Captain of H.M.S. Phaeton
A True Copy
Edward Hawke Locker.

It is true that the action taken on this occasion was extremely violent and resulted in at least one death and other serious casualties, but as far as one can judge from hearing only one side of the case Kempthorne's conduct seems to have been justified. His report suggests that, though he was obviously a spirited young man, he was not without a sense of truth and honour. It is clear from what he tells us that he would have let the *Topaz* go unscathed but for the appeal which reached him from two members of her crew. Even then his first enquiry showed that there was apparently nothing wrong with her except the absence of certain ship's papers, which, as he was fully prepared to believe, could have been accidentally destroyed, e.g. by fire or under stress of weather. The arrears of wages due to seamen leaving the American service was also common form and recognized as such. It was only the suspicious conduct of the *Topaz* after Kempthorne had got his volunteers on board his own ship and had heard their whole story which justified a re-examination. If there had been nothing in their allegations why should the *Topaz* have suddenly got under weigh and so violently resisted a third visit when she had peacefully submitted to the first two? Finally, the fact that 'the Cargo consisted of Specie', coupled with the volunteers' statement that she had been 'Pirating under English Colours',

is, if not completely damning, at any rate the 'justifying inducement' for attack required by William Pinkney a year later in his note to Canning.

It would be interesting to know what became of Lieutenant Kempthorne, but I have had no occasion to follow his career any further. What I think has emerged from these two minor incidents of his early life, and the much-travelled documents to which they gave rise, is that Anglo-American relations on the high seas in the Napoleonic period were a constant all the world over. Officers and seamen of both nations used much the same language to each other whether they met in Baltimore, New York, or Lisbon, off the capes of Virginia, in Chesapeake Bay, Madeira or Canton.

NOTES

ADMIRAL WILLIAM BROWN

Several maritime centenaries of note fall in the year 1957. During the year the three-hundredth anniversary will occur of the death of Admiral Blake, to whose greatness full credit would not yet seem to have been given. The year will also see the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Joseph Conrad. Finally, on 3 March, the centenary will be commemorated of the death of Admiral William Brown.

Brown was born in Foxford, Co. Mayo, Ireland, in 1777, and grew up to become the founder and greatest and most revered chief of the navy of the Argentine Republic, which always calls one of its most important units after him. There is, and presumably also in the eighteenth century was, little maritime tradition in the neighbourhood of Foxford, and it is not known why Brown went to sea: the press-gang seems the most likely answer. Legend has it that he was in Jervis's fleet at Cape St Vincent, fighting against that Spanish fleet in which San Martín was serving, who was to be co-founder with him of Argentina's independence from Spain. Early in the nineteenth century, Brown was a prisoner in Verdun, from which he escaped. He first appears in Buenos Aires, in 1809, and in 1810 he was owner and master there of a merchant brig, the *Jane*.

In 1810 four French seamen, Bouchard, Hubac, Courrande and Mordeille, got together a flotilla of light craft, and in conjunction with a Maltese corsair Arzopardo, tried to loosen the blockade maintained by the navy of Spain against her rebellious colonists on the banks of the River Plate. They were defeated in 1811, and no further effort was made in this direction till 1814. On 1 March of that year Brown, who had been following his career as a merchant and ship-master and had made influential friends in Buenos Aires, was put in charge of a force of three corvettes and ten light craft, and shortly after he won, at Martín García, near the mouth of the River Uruguay, the first victory of the Argentine navy, the first naval defeat inflicted on the Spaniards by colonial rebels in South America. That was on 17 March, St Patrick's Day, as the result of which the air 'St Patrick's Day' is always played in Argentina on ceremonial naval occasions.

Shortly after his victory at Martín García, Brown won a more decisive one off Montevideo, as the result of which the blockade of the Plate was raised and seven warships and many valuable stores fell into the hands of the revolutionaries. In October 1815 Brown set off round the Horn with a small squadron which under his able command co-operated with San Martín in his spectacular campaign for the liberation of Peru and Ecuador from Spanish rule. In the war that began in 1825 between Argentina and the Empire of Brazil over the future of what is now the Republic of Uruguay, Brown, supreme commander of the Argentine naval forces, first defeated the Brazilian squadron which was endeavouring to establish a blockade of the Plate, and later sailed into the Bay of Rio de Janeiro itself and succeeded in capturing the greater part of the Brazilian Navy.

Brown always retained an affection for his native country, which he visited in 1847, and sympathized with her political struggles, though remaining a moderate Anglophile throughout his life. A good deal has yet to be verified about the life of this remarkable man, but there is no doubt that the Argentine popular tradition is soundly based which makes of him a great naval hero. His tactical inspiration at all times, and the strategic maturity which he displayed in his later campaigns, mark him as an outstanding naval leader. There is also plenty of evidence of his prepossessing personal qualities.

A sod of Foxford earth was dug in the presence of representatives of the Argentine and Irish navies on the anniversary of Brown's birth in June 1956, to be sent to Buenos Aires and placed upon the Admiral's ashes in the course of nation-wide ceremonies in Argentina in his centenary year.

J. DE COURCY IRELAND

SOME OLD BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF SEAMEN

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 42, p. 254)

In his interesting list of superstitions, Captain MacDermott makes no mention of forbidden persons and animals. My own knowledge of this subject is slight, but perhaps other members can enlarge upon it. I have only encountered it among fishermen from the North Sea coasts of Scotland and northern England, but it would be interesting to know where else it occurs and how it originated. Perhaps members can also expand the following list. Most, if not all the 'dangerous' words had their 'safe' synonyms which might be used if the subject could not wholly be avoided, although even they were used reluctantly in some boats.

Dangerous word	Safe synonym
Minister, parson, priest	Man in black
Woman (particularly a named individual)	?
Pig	Grunter
Black cat	?
Rabbit	Furry one
Rat	Long-tailed one
Mouse	?
Salmon	Red fish

It was also considered dangerous to see any of the above, and particularly a woman from outside one's own household, first thing in the morning, on the way down to the boat.

It seems possible that the mention of a Christian priest might originally have been thought to offend the pagan sea gods, while the salmon may have been regarded as the king of fishes, but I am unable even to suggest possible origins for the remainder.

Although the belief is dying, it is still very real in places. I worked with a skipper six years ago, a Yorkshireman in his middle thirties. He was a very competent fisherman, seaman and navigator, but everyone on board had to observe the rules for the sake of his peace of mind. When a rat established itself with us, it was generally referred to as 'our unwelcome guest'. When my wife made a passage on board, he anticipated dire calamity and only regained his composure after several days without untoward incident. Even then, as we all slept on deck, he was careful to turn in where his eyes fell first on the engineman when waking, to make sure that he did not see her first in the morning. His own wife told us that, at home in Yorkshire, he always sent her to look out in the morning until a man was coming down the street, so that he could see him on leaving his doorway. Had he seen a woman first, he would have stayed ashore that day.

W. A. KING-WEBSTER

THE ARMAMENT OF THE *DANAE*

I agree with Doctor Anderson that James was wrong when he gave the rearmed *Danae* so many guns: indeed, I purposely implied a measure of doubt when I quoted him (p. 39).

But Doctor Anderson goes on to say that the draught of the ship shows no quarter-deck, and I hope I may be allowed, if not to disagree, at least to justify my frequent use of the term in my article. A ship-builder would no doubt have said that she had no quarter-deck because she was flush decked. But to those who served in her, part of her flush deck was 'the quarter-deck', and they always referred to it as such. It is, I suggested, a matter of differing nomenclature, the distinction being between the constructional and the administrative point of view.

J. D. SPINNEY

A ROMAN BOWLINE

Commandant L. Guilleux La Roërie has recently published an excellent illustration of a third century A.D. Roman two-master from a mosaic found in 1954 near Sousse in Tunisia.¹ The purpose of his note is to discuss a pair of lines which appear to lead from the weather leech of the mainsail to the upper part of the foremast. Commandant La Roërie suggests that these lines represent a bowline, since he says that he failed to find any other satisfactory explanation.

It will be helpful to consider for a moment the single-masted ship of the Renaissance, since we have here clearly illustrated examples of bowlines from a square mainsail to the bowsprit. One can do no better than refer to the recent article by R. Morton Nance on the subject of Renaissance ships.² Practically every early illustration shows a single rope leading from a bridle made fast to *each* leech of the sail. When the sail is shown behind the mast (with the vessel viewed from the side), the fore-bowline leads to the forward edge of the sail, and the after bowline hangs under it passing behind the sail (to leeward) in leading to the after edge of the sail.³ Thus the two bowlines appear to lead to the weather edge of the sail. The Sousse ship seems to show this. However, the Sousse sail is not behind the mast, but rather in front of the mast. In Renaissance ships the after bowline would pass in front of the sail (to leeward) when it was in the position shown in the Sousse ship.⁴ When the Renaissance sail was furled on the main yard, the two bowlines led to points just inside the ends of the yard.⁵ When the mainsail was set in these Renaissance ships, the fore-bowline was pulled taut.

Thus if the Sousse ship has bowlines, it appears that they differ in two respects from those of the Renaissance: (1) they have no bridles at the sail; (2) the after bowline crosses the windward side of the sail making an impossible arrangement. The lack of bridles is no problem, since they might not have been developed at the time. The fact that the after bowline passes to windward of the sail rather than to leeward of it could have been an error on the part of the artist, along with not showing the fore-bowline set up taut.

My first impression in looking at the Sousse ship was that the two lines in question led from the top of the foremast to the top of the mainmast (behind the mainsail). In looking for supporting evidence I find two identical lines in a ship with *sails furled* dated c. A.D. 250 (same as Sousse ship in round numbers) from a fresco in the Callistine Catacombs in Rome shown by Torr.⁶ The two lines are fixed to the bowsprit outside the spritsail yard lifts and appear to lead into the area of the main lifts. (Bowsprit of Torr's fig. 37 and the foremast of the Sousse ship are both *artemon* masts and differ in degree rather than kind.) In the Renaissance ships the bowlines led to the ends of the main yard when the sail was furled. Thus we can say with some assurance that the Sousse ship did not have bowlines.

Lines leading from the top of the mainmast to the top of the foremast of Roman ships would seem to require some explanation. Such is provided by Torr, who relates that the Roman ship had a mainmast supported by shrouds and a single forestay.⁷ He states that the forestay was a larger rope than the others and seems to have been intended for lowering the mast towards the stern. We see an interesting evolution of this forestay in the illustrations provided by Torr (but apparently not recognized by him). In two illustrations the forward part of this forestay makes a turn around the *outside* of the hull of the vessel at the bow.⁸ This is certainly one way of obviating any internal fitting designed to hold a great strain: a hitch around the bow of the vessel is as strong as the rope. Next we see a block fitted inside the bow for setting up the forestay.⁹ The third step is seen in the

1 L. G. La Roërie, *M.M.*, Vol. 42 (August, 1956), p. 248.

2 R. M. Nance, 'The Ship of the Renaissance', *M.M.*, Vol. 41, pp. 180-92, 281-98.

3 *Ibid.* figs. 20-1.

4 *Ibid.* figs. 14 and 19.

5 *Ibid.* figs. 4a and 10.

6 C. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge University Press, 1895), fig. 37.

7 *Ibid.* p. 94.

8 *Ibid.* figs. 26 and 32. It is interesting to note that Nance (*op. cit.* fig. 4c) shows a similar detail of an early Renaissance ship with the forestay making several turns around the hull.

9 *Ibid.* figs. 27 and 29.

Sousse ship where this 'forestay' leads from the top of the mainmast to the top of the foremast. It is difficult to see why square-rigged Roman ships needed such a powerful forestay, unless to lower the mast as Torr has suggested. With the purchase starting from the deck, the forces become enormous when the mast reaches the level of the deck. But with the purchase leading from the top of the foremast, much lighter tackle could be used.

It would seem to me that the medieval and early Renaissance one-masted ship owes a much greater debt to the Roman ship than anyone has even dared suggest. A comparison of Sir Alan Moore's reconstruction of a thirteenth-century (?) Northern ship,¹ with the Roman ship (of Torr's fig. 37) shows many basic similarities, even as to a forecastle and poop. The outstanding difference is that the Roman ship had the bow-spritsail yard set on the bowsprit when the sail was furled. But many other Roman illustrations do not show any spritsail yard set. Medieval ships never show a spritsail or spritsail yard.

I believe that most nautical scholars are much too conservative in their statements about the first occurrence of the bow-spritsail in the North. Nance relates that in northern Europe the bowsprit was originally used only for setting bowlines, and only after 1480 was it employed for carrying a sail.² Moore states that we have no certain record in northern Europe of the use of a bow-spritsail before 1450 at the very earliest.³

However, many twelfth- to fourteenth-century northern ships show a bowsprit with a pair of lines hanging down from the end and leading aft to the deck.⁴ I do not know of any evidence that bowlines were used thus early, so these lines cannot be explained in this direction. Besides, bowlines occur somewhat later and take an entirely different form, leading directly to the sail, whether it is set or furled. It would seem that these bowsprits and hanging lines must have had some purpose. Certainly they were not there to hang an anchor on.

No intent can be seen for the bowsprit and lines other than hanging a sail. It should be remembered that these medieval one-masted ships are usually found on seals which are highly stylized, and they are invariably shown with the mainsail furled. That the bow-spritsail and yard were not left furled on the bowsprit is substantiated by the many sixteenth-century illustrations which show that the bow-spritsail was usually furled on its yard and stowed alongside the head rails, often pointing up like a second bowsprit.⁵ And it is often hitched to the lines which lead from the end of the bowsprit!

Further indirect evidence that a bow-spritsail was probably set on early one-masters is provided by the first ships which show mizens (but do not yet show the bow-spritsail set). Sir Alan Moore suggests the impossibility of such a situation, and suggests that perhaps the high overhanging fore-castle offered the equivalent surface of the bow-spritsail.⁶ The fact is that most of these first ships with mizens have them furled,⁷ and thus the bow-spritsail was probably stowed.

It does not seem reasonable to suggest that the bow-spritsail was abandoned in medieval times and had to be reinvented in the Renaissance. Rather it seems that the sail was in continuous use from Roman times on. Actually we seem to have more evidence here for its existence than in other cases where we draw more speculative conclusions. But the lines from the top of the foremast (or bowsprit) to the top of the mainmast seem to have disappeared after Roman times.

RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN, JR.

1 Sir Alan Moore, 'Rig in Northern Europe', *M.M.*, Vol. 42, February 1956, pp. 6-37, fig. 2.

2 R. M. Nance, *op. cit.* p. 287.

3 Sir Alan Moore, *op. cit.* p. 9.

4 Such ships with a pair of lines hanging off the end of the bowsprit are shown by A. Jal, *Archéologie Navale*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1840), p. 153; A. Jal, *Glossaire Nautique* (Paris, 1847), p. 258; E. K. Chatterton, *Sailing Ships* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1909), p. 155.

5 R. M. Nance, *op. cit.* pp. 295-6; G. S. L. Blowes, *Sailing Ships*, Vol. 1 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948), plates IX, X.

6 A. Moore, *op. cit.* p. 9.

7 R. M. Nance, *op. cit.* figs. 7 and 10.

SPRITSAILS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

In the February 1956 *M.M.*, Professor Casson presented three spritsails from the Aegean in the first or second centuries A.D. and one probably from the Tyrrhenian in the third century. It is worth while pointing out how beautifully this discovery ties in with the known history and recent distribution of the sprit rig.

One focus of distribution of the sprit rig has been Holland, from which it spread eastward into the Baltic, north to Norway, and westward to Britain and America. Another pocket has existed at least since the time of Witsen (1671: see *M.M.*, Vol. xv, p. 192) in the waters between Malta and the Bosphorus (see, for example, Smyth, *Mast and Sail in Europe and Asia*, or Moore, *Last Days of Mast and Sail*). To explain how a rig invented around 1420 in the Netherlands could have been widely used by small coasting vessels in the Aegean by 1671 is not easy. But to account for the appearance in Holland by 1420 of a rig used continuously in Asia Minor since the Year One is no more difficult than to account for the similar history of the windmill, which I believe is accepted to have been brought back from the Levant during the Crusades.

From an entirely different standpoint, Professor Casson's three examples on his Plate I are acceptable as representations of a sprit rig. Compare the mast positions with those of the square-riggers in the Frontispiece for February 1956. It is clear that the masts of the spritters are too far forward to permit boarding the tack of a square sail. The spritter on the sarcophagus has both a mast position and a lead of standing rigging appropriate to the sprit rig.

JOHN LYMAN

SHORE LEAVE

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 42, p. 234)

Perhaps the expression 'shore leave' has crept in because the majority of Naval personnel are ashore anyway and it differentiates it from the other sorts of leave such as Canteen, week-end, Recreational, etc. etc. I have never heard the expression and agree it seems quite unnecessary, but so do many of the recent changes. Once a maritime nation, we have been giving way at an ever increasing rate to 'shore' influence, both male and female apparently, to judge by the latest changes in officers ranks and uniform, for which no serving officers have been able to give me any reason. I am told that the lack of distinctive stripes is most confusing on commissioning a large ship. Perhaps it is more comforting to many of them when on 'shore' leave!

I am afraid it is inevitable that the combined efforts of N.A.T.O., B.B.C., Cinema, Press, many novelists and some M.P.s will whittle away the old nautical terms and traditions and I would not be greatly surprised to read one day that the helm orders have been changed to 'right and left lock' in deference to modern 'progress'.

C. M. BLACKMAN

With reference to Commander Mead's note, my recollection from life on the lower deck early in the 1939-45 War is that the term 'shore leave' was applied to a few hours leave to distinguish it from longer periods such as 'Refit Leave', 'Embarkation Leave', etc. As such, the term was apt, in that one had no time in which to travel inland beyond the shore adjoining one's ship. I cannot see that any exception can be taken to its use in this sense, but I agree that its use to describe all leave spent ashore would be absurd, in that it is unusual to spend leave anywhere else.

W. A. KING-WEBSTER

NOTES ON THE POLACRE RIG

The following notes apply to the polacre rig as it existed in the Western Mediterranean in the epoch of the single topsail.

I doubt if this rig existed much before 1750. In the first part of the eighteenth century the term polacre was applied to the rig later known as a barque—lateen rigged in the fore and square

rigged on the main and mizen masts—but with the important difference that in the early polacre the main was a fidded mast, while in the later barque it was a pole one. Bourdide Villehuet (1773) and Falconer (1769) still use the term in its earlier sense, although the latter says that it was also used, especially in Provence, to denote a pole-masted ship. Perhaps neither were authorities on Mediterranean matters but there is other testimony. Lescallier (1775) states the practice of rigging xebecs as polacres had only existed for a few years (*depuis quelques ans*), Forfait (1788) also terms it of recent introduction and all pictorial evidence known to me shows early polacres to have been vessels of Mediterranean hull-form—that the rig was first applied to such vessels. Indeed Forfait says the rig was derived from the xebec and Lescallier says polacres were generally pinques. The invention, however, could not have been much later than 1750 as Duranti de Lironcourt (1771) says that most French Mediterranean merchant vessels were polacres. He was a partisan of the rig and perhaps exaggerates its prevalence—certainly most of the Marseilles vessels, painted a generation later by Antoine Roux, Senior, were not polacres.

Polacres may be divided into two classes; in the first, which might perhaps be termed the pure polacre, the fore- and mainmasts were in a single spar from step to truck; in the second there were fidded topgallant masts. At first only the pure polacre will be considered.

Although of a single spar the masts were not necessarily of a single stick, for they might be of two or three scarfed together. If of two the scarf extended from just above the lower to just above the topmast hounds; if there were three sticks they extended on either side of the lower and topmast hounds. The scarf was of the type used by the French for a made lower yard—a flat scarf with a chain of trapezoidal-shaped coaks, with hoops driven over. There were neither tops nor topmast crosstrees but merely stops for the rigging, and there was no royal mast although some of Baugean's engravings show royals set on the topgallant poles. The masts were octagonal in cross-section from just above the wedges to the heel.

The standing rigging. The lower stays (there were neither lower nor topmast spring stays) went over with a long collar of the usual type but in almost all cases instead of resting on the stop of the hounds they rested on a stop or thumb cleat fixed to the after side of the mast a little below the stop. Consequently they were below the shrouds as those went over in the manner of topgallant shrouds and rested on the stops. At least in French ships it was customary to put no. 1 port pair over first at the fore but no. 1 starboard at the main and mizen. Even in pinques and xebecs, with their flaring topsides, the lower shrouds almost invariably set up to channels.

There were no topmast nor topgallant shrouds, consequently no catharpins. Generally there were two standing topmast backstays and one topgallant one per side, besides a topmast breast back stay in the period when these were general.

It is sometimes stated that polacres had no topmast stays but this was not usually so. Sometimes the topmast stay (together with the jib and staysail stays, if any) were bent around thimbles on a traveller that slid on the topgallant mast. The blocks of the jib and staysail halyards were also bent to this traveller together with the lower block of a jigger, the upper block of which was stoppered around the topgallant masthead. The stays passed *over* the topgallant yard and, after following the usual lead, were set up with tackles. When the topgallant sail was furled the traveller remained close to the topmast head; previous to setting it the jigger was manned, the stays and halyards tended and the traveller triced up close to the topgallant masthead. Another way was to place the stays over the *topgallant* masthead underneath the topgallant rigging; they then lead *through* the traveller, over the topgallant yard and then as before. In this case instead of the jigger a rope that might perhaps be termed a truss was bent to the after side of the traveller and went down along the backstays to the deck. When the topgallant sail was furled there was a large angle in the stays at the traveller which was held down by the truss; prior to setting it the truss was let go, the slack of the stays gathered in and the traveller ran up automatically to the topgallant masthead. It goes without saying that the stays were well leathered in the wake of the traveller.

Lescallier says there was a Jacob's ladder on each side going from the lower masthead '*jusqu'au sommet*', although his plate shows them stop at the topmast hounds. Perhaps this was once the practice but from at least 1780 on the invariable practice was to have a single ladder abaft the mast from lower to topmast head. The lower rigging was rattled down.

The running rigging. Sometimes the lower lift blocks (and also the peak halyard one, in brigs) were stropped around the mast at about the point where the lower cap would have been, but frequently they were in the ends of a span hitched around the mast immediately above the rigging. In the latter case the yard blocks instead of going over the yard arm were lashed to the yard at points about half-way between the slings and hounds of the yard, in order to increase the resolute of the tension in the lift normal to the yard. Pictures and models of early polacres show veers of various (usual) kinds, including that which Dr R. C. Anderson would consider to be 'ties and halyards'. By about 1780 these were replaced by slings of the strop-and-lanyard type. The upper strop went around the mast and the bight containing the seized-in thimble hung down through the collar of the lower stay. Pinques and xebecs had no fore-tack bumpkins, but the tacks boarded to a block lashed to the headrail.

The upper yards were nearly always fitted to permit that they might be *amenées en paquet*—that is that the topsail yard was lowered to the lower hounds and the topgallant one close to the topsail yard. Generally the clews of the upper sails were becketed to the yard-arms of the yard below, and there were neither sheets, nor clewlines nor buntlines—never, I think, reef tackles. This arrangement had the advantage that the sails, when clewed down, were partly becalmed by the sail below, as an upper topsail is. When the lower lift-blocks were at the point where the cap would have been, obviously it could not have been lowered to the hounds if it had a parral; it had accordingly a truss. This passed around the topmast, the ends were then brought forward and:

- (a) Passed on each side of the tie block; between the yard and the (leathered) head rope of the topsail and then down through the two exterior of three notches (the centre notch received the tie block strop) in the after edge of a cleat on the fore side of the topsail yard, or
- (b) Through similar notches in the fore edge of a cleat on the after side of the yard, or
- (c) Through thimbles stropped to the after side of the yard.

In whichever way passed the ends extended down abaft the topsail and abaft the lower yard, they were spliced together, and into the bight so formed a block was seized that connected by its fall with another lashed to the fore side of the lower mast or stropped to an eyebolt in the deck just before the mast. The truss was long enough so that when the topsail yard was mastheaded the block in the bight of the truss hung down several feet below the lower yard.

Method (a) was very unseamanlike as it involved much avoidable chafe; nevertheless, I have been told that it was 'usual in small tonnage', also that (b) was little used. In any case the truss was a very imperfect way of holding the yard into the mast as soon as the yard was below the lift blocks, and occasionally the topsail yard was not lowered beneath them—see Baugean, *Recueil de Petites Marines*, plate 87.

There was a pair of downhauls on the topsail yard; their standing parts bent to the lower yard vertically below a point on the topsail yard about two-thirds the distance slings to hounds from the former, then through a block on the topsail yard at the said point, through a block on the lower yard just outside the standing part, through a block on the 1st, 2nd or 3rd lower shroud at the height of the leading blocks (passing in between the shrouds if the block were on the 2nd or 3rd shroud), through a leading block on deck and the hauling part belayed at the pinrail.

The topgallant tie after going through the sheave in the mast passed either through a thimble seized into a strop that traversed on the topgallant mast or through the stay-traveller, before it was bent to the yard. This acted as a parral so long as the yard was above the topmast-head; to keep it into the mast when below and act as a downhaul there was a sort of truss. Its standing part bent to the topgallant yard a little out from the slings, it passed around the *topmast* between the mast and the backstays topsail tie, then down through a thimble stropped to the after side of the topgallant yard on the opposite side of the slings from the standing part and down to deck. It was this type of downhaul that explains the complete lack of parallelism between the topsail and topgallant yards that is to be found in paintings of polacres that represent the vessel with the topgallant yards just clewed down and not yet 'laid by the braces'. So far as I know, lateral downhauls such as those used on the topsail yards were never used, although they were used in American ships on flying royals and skysails and certainly controlled the yard better.

Sometimes all the head braces lead to the collar of the mainstay, but sometimes the fore topgallant brace lead to the main topgallant masthead.

I have seen the statement that polacres had no lifts on the upper yards, but topsail lifts are found in pictures, and Mediterranean seamen have told me they were usual. I imagine they would have been necessary for carrying studding sails. These same men said that usually there were no topgallant lifts, but this could not have been true, at least in all epochs, for the plates of Lescallier and especially several paintings of the photographically exact François Roux show them, but both show them leading, not from the topgallant masthead but from the topmast head. Perhaps they were standing lifts, in which case to have lead them from the topgallant masthead would merely have wasted rope.

Some polacres, even though their yards were *amendés en paquet*, nevertheless fitted their upper sails to clew up. They had sheets, clewlines and buntlines and, of course, no topsail downhauls. Judging by models and pictures this was quite frequently done in barques (Mediterranean sense of the term) and bombardes, although I know no reason that made such a departure from common practice peculiarly appropriate in these vessels.

These vessels carried topmast and lower studding sails and the usual quota of staysails between the masts including a middle one.

Some of Baugean's drawings show polacres carrying royals on the topgallant poles, which were also lowered *en paquet*. Inasmuch as one yardarm and one clew of these would have had to be passed around the (standing) topgallant stay each time it was set or taken in, that it would have been impossible to clew down *any* of the upper sails if the royal clews were becketed to the topgallant yard until hands had gone aloft to cast them off, and as besides a sail set flying over another set flying would have been a decided anomaly, one is forced to conclude that there must have been a good deal of gear that Baugean (prone to omit details) does not show in these pictures.

Polacres with fidded topgallant masts. Here there was a topmast cap and crosstrees. The topgallant mast sometimes 'fidded abaft' but more usually it was before the topmasthead. They usually either had a topgallant pole long enough to set royals on without royal rigging other than a 'flagstaff stay', or else a 'long topgallant mast' (topgallant mast and royal in one stick) with royal backstays and stay. In this case there were sometimes jack crosstrees and royal shrouds (after such had come into use, see Baugean's plate 87, previously mentioned) with, apparently, standing royals. There was then not much polacre left about the ship.

The topgallant shrouds were set up to futtock staves on the standing topmast backstays, the topmast stays (or any others radiating from the topmast head—these vessels generally had lower and topmast spring stays) were standing stays fitted in the usual manner. The fore topgallant brace and (often) the standing part of the foretopsail brace lead to the crotch of the maintopmast stay. As to the topgallant sails themselves, they were standing and rigged precisely like all standing topgallant sails. When the royals were set flying sometimes their clews were becketed to the topgallant yard. The topgallant stays then passed over the royal yard and bent to a traveller on the royal mast (or pole) which was carried up by the royal yard when it was hoisted. Except for the halyards and perhaps a downhaul there was no royal gear. But in pictures the royals are so rarely crossed when they are not set that one suspects they set from the deck—the usual practice in at least the United States and French navies with flying royals or skysails.

These vessels carried topgallant studding sails.

The head booms. Lescallier's plate of a polacre (which is a pinque) has a long, sharply steeking bowsprit on one side of the stemhead, carrying a spritsail but no jib-boom, and in his text he says there was no jib-boom. The same thing may be seen in a few other early prints, but at least from 1780 on the universal custom in xebecs and pinques was to utilize the berthelot (the timber forming the upper part of the long-projecting head-knee) as bowsprit, to put a cap on its end and prolong it with a jib-boom. Sometimes the heel of the jib-boom lashed to the berthelot, sometimes the doubling was so long that the heel of the boom butted against the fore-end of the standard knee that fayed to the upper side of the berthelot and the fore-side of the stemhead. There was then a cross-piece the ends of which bolted to the head rails and which curved over the boom heel, receiving it in a notch in the lower side of the cross-piece and confining it vertically and laterally.

But except that it lacked a spritsail yard (the berthelot had so little steeve that probably the lee yardarm would have buried when the vessel heeled) this berthelot-bowsprit had all the dependencies of any contemporary bowsprit. And when the vessel was of ordinary hull-form the headbooms were precisely what they would have been in ordinary ships.

Polacres of the first class did not carry a flying jib but those with fidded topgallant masts usually did, after it was in general use.

The Mizzenmast. For some reason this mast which one would imagine to be the one that lent itself most readily to being a pole mast was, in ships, very rarely one, but had a fidded topmast, with top, etc. Forfait said it never was a pole mast, but one can find a few instances of pole mizzen-masts. I have never seen in print any reason for this and my questions never elicited anything more satisfying than: *Era sempre così*. Perhaps it was merely that eighteenth-century lateen-rigged xebecs and pinques had such a mizzenmast, when they were converted into polacres it was not disturbed, and the habit persisted.

Small polacres might not carry a mizen topgallantsail, but one was generally carried on the (long) mizen topmast pole. As it was set over the standing mizen topmast stay, like Baugeans royals, one clew and one yard-arm had to be passed around the stay when it was set or taken in, consequently it had sheets. Polacres with fidded topgallant masts at the fore and main, however, often had a mizen one too and carried topgallants and royals on all three masts.

Lescallier's pinque-polacre (1775) carries the ordinary mizen of the period—a quadrilateral sail and a mizen yard, and the same thing may be found in other contemporary pinque or xebec polacres. But almost always they carried a true lateen mizen, and as the yard was very long and had much peak, and as the sail either sheeted home to an outrigger or to the extremity of the *aïlles* (the projection of the bulwarks well abaft the stern post) it was a very large sail. Polacres of ordinary hull form carried whatever type of mizen or spanker that was used by all contemporary ships.

Otherwise there was nothing peculiar about the rigging of a polacre. One detail of Mediterranean practice may perhaps be mentioned as its exhibition in pictures has sometimes been mistaken for an indication of ignorance on the part of the artist. Instead of making up the gaskets or bringing them in taut along the yard, the end of one was hitched to the standing part of the adjacent one so that they hung down in a series of festoons before the sail. I have been told that it was considered that *cela faisait joli*.

Polacres other than ships. Any square-rigged mast could of course be polacre rigged. There was nothing special about a brig polacre except that sometimes all the after braces lead to the fore lower hounds.

A bombarde was a polacre ketch and here the mizen was a pole mast. I know of no evidence of its existence prior to about 1800; in all cases I know the mizen was a gaff-and-boom sail. Sometimes there was a square mizen topsail, sometimes a gaff topsail: they carried mizen and mizen topmast staysails. There might be a fidded main topgallant mast, there was a jib-boom and three headsails, including the fore staysail. In the great majority of cases they were of ordinary hull form—of non-Mediterranean form. It has already been noted that their upper square sails often clewed-up. The painting by François Roux of the bombarde *La Volonté de Dieu* (1816) shows the three after main shrouds set up with deadeyes to channels while the two forward ones were *à bastaque*—that is each one was composed of a pendant, a runner and a tackle and they set up inside the bulwarks. The same arrangement is found in an extremely carefully executed painting of a bombardio of 1810 in the possession of Captain Anthony MacDermott, R.N. Perhaps their purpose was to facilitate the bracing of the yards, but this type of shroud was used to hoist objects in and out, by guying out the bendant by a lizard from the lower yard.

A 'square-rigged tartane' (not to be confounded with a grande tartane which had replaced the lateen mainsail by a square one) was similar to a bombardio, but it had no mizen topmast (the masthead or pole was only long enough to give a good lead to the peak halyards), never a fidded main topgallant mast nor jib-boom, and they usually had but a single headsail.

Barque was a term very loosely used by Mediterranean seaman; the definitions by contemporary

writers are various and often contradictory. Lescallier says it was properly applied to the rig previously mentioned (lateen rigged in the fore, square rigged on the main and mizen masts) and, in France at least, the term seems to have become restricted to this rig in the course of the nineteenth century. But in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was evidently applied (and far be from me the temerity of hinting that it was *only* applied!) to a three-masted vessel of Mediterranean hull form, of which at least one of the masts was lateen rigged (perhaps with a square topsail if it were the mizen) and at least one mast other than the mizen was square (polacre) rigged. Thus beside the type defined by Lescallier a barque could be a ship, a barque (English sense—main and fore square, mizen lateen—but perhaps with a fidded mizen topmast and top) or a barkentine (square rigged on the foremast, lateen on main and mizen). But just what differentiated a ship rigged barque from a polacre is not clear—perhaps nothing, as Lescallier says one should properly be called a polacre. However, the connexion between a barque and a lateener was much more immediate than between the polacre and the lateener. Not only was the hull invariably that of a pinque or xebec, but when the foremast was square-rigged it sometimes raked forward, indicating a converted lateener, and, since the step and partners had not been changed, possibly an alternate rig. Also the shrouds of the square-rigged masts set up inboard lateener-fashion although they did so with deadeyes to eyebolts in the waterway. When a mizen topsail was carried there was not always a crossjack yard, but the clews had each a tack and sheet that lead directly to deck—a peculiarity sometimes also found in grande tartanes. It has already been stated that quite frequently the upper squaresails of barques were clewed-up.

Footropes. Falconer in his Dictionary states that polacres had footropes only on their lower yards and that in handling the upper sails the men put their feet on the yard next below. The only confirmation of this statement that might be regarded as of Mediterranean origin that I know is contained in some notes in Admiral Paris' *Souvenirs de Marine* accompanying a drawing by François Roux of a polacre brig, which speak of the men putting their feet on the yard to reef and furl. These notes are evidently not due to Roux for the brig in question has footropes and flemish horses on her topsail yards. Falconer was a very dubious witness where Mediterranean vessels are concerned for nearly all his statements about them are contradicted or unsupported by local testimony. I believe his statement about footropes, as far as it applies to the topsail yards of a vessel of any size, to be at least completely excessive for the following reasons.

(a) I know of no Mediterranean writer who wrote of polacres to say anything whatsoever about footropes, and since they all contented themselves with indicating the differences between a polacre and an ordinary ship, it would be singular if such a strange difference had escaped them all. Falconer is contradicted by the work of Mediterranean artists of the most incontestable nautical competence and notably by that of the Roux family of Marseilles, remarkable for a camera-like solicitude for exactness in detail. And it was contradicted by the statements made to me by Mediterranean seamen—ridiculed in fact.

(b) The only benefit obtainable by omitting footropes would be to save a few fathoms of small rope; its consequence would have been the introduction of a long train of evils of a nature to suggest themselves to a seaman, and some of which would have been very serious. I disbelieve that a man could work either safely or effectively without footropes, and this opinion was evidently widely shared by seamen, for although it would have been easier to have dispensed with footropes on upper topsail or topgallant yards than on the topsail yards of a polacre, I have never seen or heard of a ship that lacked them, even though the yards in question were comparable in size to a polacre's topsail yard. Evidently no natural law required the captain of a polacre to be intent on spoiling the ship for a 'ha'p'orth of tar'.

(c) Finally, Falconer does not explain how in a vessel of any size it was even *possible* to use the lower yards as a footrope. In order to render it possible to brace up the lower yards, they must be slung a certain distance below the lower hounds. An eighteenth-century rule for the distance hounds—axis of lower yard was the length of the masthead—0.278 the beam for the mainmast, an early nineteenth century one, half the width of the top—0.25 the beam, again for the mainmast. In a polacre, due to the way the lower stays were usually fitted, this distance must have been a little more. Since a man of ordinary stature cannot work well if his feet are more than about 3 feet below

the upper surface of the yard he is on, and as at the utmost the upper surface of a topsail yard could not have been gotten much below the hounds, how could the lower yard be used as a topsail foot-rope if the vessel's beam exceeds about 14 feet?—or a vessel of some 50 tons, too small to square rig even by eighteenth century ideas.

As to the topgallant yards, when the sails were set flying doubtless like the yards of all such sails they had no footropes. Not that the men put their feet on the topsail yard. Given especially the way the topgallant yards were rigged, *that* would have had a great deal to recommend it as a sure and swift method of suicide but hardly for furling the topgallant sail. They did what men did in furling all sails so set, they put their feet in the footrope of the yard immediately below—a method which presented no great difficulty as the topgallant yard was relatively small and could be gotten down close to the topsail yard.

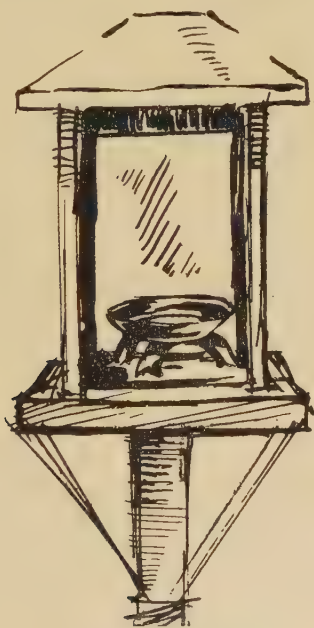
I wish to express my indebtedness to Monsieur P. J. Bruhier of Cannes, France, for information kindly given me upon the rig of polacres.

D. L. DENNIS

THE LIGHTING OF POOP LANTERNS

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 42, p. 233)

It may, possibly, be of interest to know that before the introduction of kerosene into China the sea-going junks used oil derived from soya beans and from rape seeds. The latter was, by far, the more popular as it was cheaper.



A crude iron dish soldered on a tripod contained the oil, while the wick usually consisted of the pith of a rush. A large nail was often laid over the wick to keep it submerged in the oil. The contraption was then placed in a square lantern with glass panes.

The making of glass is a comparatively recent innovation in China; formerly, oiled paper, silk or half-grown sea-shells (*Placuna*) were (and in the interior still are) used instead.

G. R. G. WORCESTER

BEFORE MULBERRY—FLOATING HARBOURS AND BREAKWATERS

The advantages of artificial Harbours of Refuge wherever there is much passage of ships, particularly on iron-bound coasts where natural harbours are few, needs no emphasis.

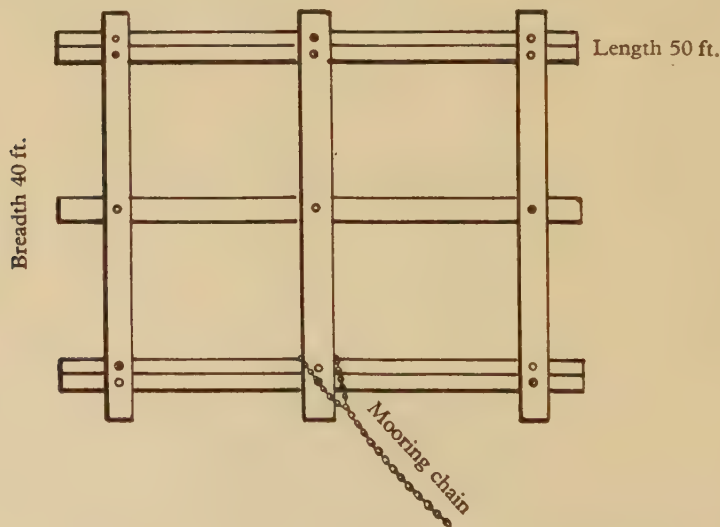
Such shelters have been constructed from the very earliest times, and have taken the form of stone or wood piers or jetties extending from the shore, and also, within the last 100 years, of steel piles joined and interlaced by steel or iron girders.

All these are permanent structures. They are only capable of construction in fairly shallow water. They may require many years to build, and the cost of building and maintenance is extremely high.

An alternative form of breakwater which has been in use in some countries from the earliest times may be formed out of heavy baulks of timber joined so as to form a rectangular frame, say 50 feet long by 40 feet wide, bolted together and secured to the sea-bottom by one or more anchors. The baulks may be of any size up to 22 inch square section.

Any number of these frames may be moored in line or in echelon so as to present the maximum resistance to the waves.

Plan of open frame



Note: If the timber is not sufficiently buoyant, it may be necessary to attach empty casks or light caissons to the frame; but this should be avoided if possible as such attachments are liable to work loose. All bolts and iron bands should be tightened up periodically.

Alexander the Great, in 330 B.C. employed floating booms for the improvement of the entrances of the great rivers of Asia; Euphrates, Tigris and Indus (see the 6th and 7th Books of Arrian).

Julius Caesar was also acquainted with the uses and advantages of floating breakwaters.

In the first book of his commentaries, *De Bello Civili*, section 25, he describes his harbour works at Brundisium (Hooke's translation, Book x, chap. xi, p. 441) thus:

'Caesar having lost all hopes of an accommodation, and fearing that it was his (Pompey's) intention to keep footing in Italy, resolved to push the war with vigour, and to deprive him of the advantages he might reap from the port of Brundisium.

‘The following works were contrived by him for this purpose.

‘He carried on a mole on each side of the haven where the entrance was narrowest and the water shallow. But as this undertaking could not be carried quite across the port, by reason of the great depth of the sea, he prepared double floats of timber, thirty feet square which were secured by four anchors to enable them to resist the fury of the waves. These, which were to extend all the way between the two moles, were covered over with earth and fascines, that the soldiers might pass and repass with ease, and have firm footing to defend them. The front and sides were armed with a parapet of hurdles, and every fourth float had a tower of two stories, the better to keep the enemy’s ships at a distance, and to guard the work from fire and the shock of vessels.’

No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the best forms of floating breakwaters. Evidently there must be investigation on the spot before proposing any decided plan suitable for a particular situation.

It has been observed that a single floating frame as described, or such as we employed for the construction of booms in war time, will serve to reduce to spray the wave which breaks upon it. But many waves will of course miss it.

If, however, a floating breakwater of many frames be moored in a curved line, and properly opposed to the tides and the prevalent noxious winds, it will offer, not one, but many frames which will receive in succession the impact of the waves, and subdue them.

The seaman seeking shelter will readily discover for himself the most advantageous position within the curve of these floating frames in which to anchor his ship, having regard to possible shifts of wind or other circumstances.

A means of landing on some of the frames might be effected by the construction of a planked deck with rings, railings, etc., and a decked boat might be kept moored to a boom, so as to afford refuge in case of shipwreck or emergency.

In one experiment carried out at Dover by Mr John White in November 1824, a frame of about 40 feet by 30 feet, consisting of three tiers high of Quebec pine timber, and moored by an inch and a quarter chain cable, and a thirty-two hundredweight anchor, rode out an extraordinary gale at Dover. A 14-foot boat was anchored to the lee of it, and appeared from the shore to be quite at ease, until she became filled by the fine spray which the breaking of the waves on the frame produced; and at length she sank without injury. It was apparent that had she been decked, or covered, or could have been baled, she would have weathered the gale equally with the frame itself, which received no injury whatsoever.

This proves that refuge could always be afforded, by even a moderate arrangement of frames, for a pilot or a life-boat; and one from which she could, in a few minutes’ time, put off to any vessel in need of her services.

My observations so far have been confined to the formation of floating harbours or refuges near the shore. But harbours of refuge might also with great advantage be situated out at sea where there is good holding ground and sufficiently shallow water for the moorings.

Of course where there is no protection from land masses, floating constructions must be of much greater size and heavier construction, as well as consisting of more ranges of floating frames, or of hollow cement structures, such as were used at Arromanches.

The establishment of three or four such floating harbours, well lit, and spaced along our East coast from the Thames to the mouth of the Tees, would in the past have saved innumerable sailing vessels from destruction and have saved countless lives.

More than a hundred years ago, one such harbour of refuge with a depth of six fathoms of water at low tide was projected in a position about five miles west by south of Dungeness in the West Road inside Stephenson’s Shoal.

But, in the year 1824, when the construction of floating breakwaters was under consideration by the Admiralty, it was objected that the whole coast of England would become accessible to smugglers wherever such works were laid down, and therefore they should not be encouraged!

A truly preposterous idea when one considers that every such breakwater would equally afford shelter to the smuggler’s deadliest enemies, the Revenue Cutters, and indeed provide them with admirable points of vantage for the better surveyance of the coast.

Could it be that someone at the Admiralty was interested in the illicit importation of French brandy?

Certainly not a few of the squires and justices in the southern counties were not averse to acquiring an anker or two of Cognac, without enquiring too closely as to how it came ashore.

To sum up the advantages of floating harbours:

(1) With rigid stone piers or breakwaters, the waves impinging on them tend to create new currents and eddies on either side of the projection, which may carry sand or shingle into the entrance of the harbour. The floating breakwater presents a *yielding* surface, or rather a succession of yielding surfaces. A part of the current passes under it and an equalization of the waters is thus more quickly produced on the lee side.

The wave first breaks on the outer broadside of the frames; from the buoyancy of the frame, very little of the wave is dashed backward, and a very little of the heaviest wave will reach the lee side of the frame.

(2) The floating breakwater is accessible, or approachable, equally at every state of the tide. If properly moored it rises and falls with the varying heights of the tide.

(3) It is always repairable with ease, and of course with much less expense than stone work.

(4) It is capable of removal at any time, and to any place. This is an important advantage.

(5) It is particularly desirable for fishing coasts, where the surge often prevents boats from putting off, or landing on the shore.

It is also of course equally applicable to bathing beaches, and will at all times command smooth water.

A. MACDERMOTT

UNIFORM OF ADMIRAL THOMAS COCHRANE, 10TH EARL OF DUNDONALD

Offers of uniform made to the National Maritime Museum are often something of a surprise packet. An 'Admiral's uniform including breeches and silk stockings' should have been of interesting antiquity since breeches went out in 1830, but turned out to be the raiment of a judge of 1900. A 'Captain's uniform of about 1750' proved to be a late nineteenth-century court dress. A 'Captain's greatcoat of 1850' bore the unmistakable buttons of a general. When, therefore, some time ago, a Hounslow publican telephoned to say he had some naval uniform to dispose of there was little hope of anything interesting, though the recent find of an Admiral's coat of 1767 by the Scottish United Services Museum encouraged the following up of any clue.

On examination the uniform was found to consist of an admiral's full dress coat and epaulettes, a vice-admiral's undress coat and epaulettes, the coat and waistcoat of an elder brother of Trinity House, and a Brazilian sword belt. The coats had all obviously been made for the same man.

The uniforms showed a curious mixture of periods. The vice-admiral's epaulettes were of the pattern which became obsolete in 1843 yet bore insignia of rank of the type which was first introduced in 1846. The admiral's full dress coat was laced with the 2 in. and 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. lace which gave place to 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. and 1 in. lace in 1856. There had originally been straight stripes but a crude circle of lace had been inserted under the edge of each top stripe. There were various loops of thread on each breast for the accommodation of decorations, for at this period officers wore their decorations as they pleased so as to display them to the best advantage.

The vendor of these uniforms had no ideas as to their original owner, having bought them originally for possible use as fancy dress, but the eccentric method of fitting the stripes showed that he must have been an admiral when the curl was first introduced in 1856. A tiny fragment of a label still adhered to one of the epaulette cases and this bore a word which was decipherable as 'Earl'. The Navy List showed that there was only one Admiral in 1856 who was an earl—the Earl of Dundonald.

A search for portraits of this officer yielded a photograph taken of him in 1860, shortly before his death. Here the badly made curls to the stripes and the pre-1856 lacing of the coat are clearly visible, while the arrangements of the decoration conforms to the loops still on the coat. Identification was complete.

W. E. MAY

THE INFLATED SKIN RAFTS OF THE HUANG HO¹

The Huang Ho, or Yellow River, is 2700 miles long and rises in Northern Tibet at an altitude of some 14,000 feet. Owing to the frequent changes in the bed of the river and the terrible inundations that follow, the river is also known as 'China's Sorrow', 'The Ungovernable' and the 'Scourge of the Sons of Han', all of which names are only too well deserved.

Although it drains a vast basin with a population of many millions, the river is nearly useless for navigation except for a short distance from its mouth and between Pao-Tow and Lanchow, which section is the most important on the whole river. Goods from Tibet and the upper valley are transported on skin rafts to the railhead at Pao-Tow. Above Lanchow Fu the river becomes a mountain torrent and is entirely unnavigable.

During the low-water period, from December to April, the river is very shallow and can be frozen over; and in May to June the fierce rapids make boats unsafe and quite impossible to track up-stream. Nevertheless, at this season there is considerable traffic; cumbersome ferry boats carry passengers, live-stock and goods across the river at favourable places, and a crude form of junk operates for short distances. For long-distance transport from time immemorial the inflated skin raft has been in general use, as it is admirably suited to the navigation of this difficult river.

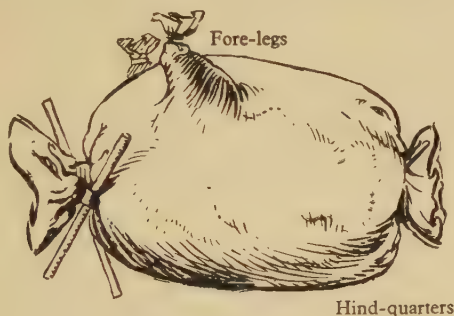


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Inflated skin of Huang Ho.

Compared with wood rafts the skin rafts have many advantages. They are capable of carrying a far heavier load and at the same time draw extremely little water. They are, moreover, much easier to handle than wood rafts, which would be too sluggish for the acute bends in the river.

On the Huang Ho small rafts made from sheep and goat skins are used for passenger traffic and light cargo. Single goat and sheep skins are also used to support swimmers for short distances, the fore-legs being tucked under the swimmer's armpits. In the case of the larger rafts the skins used are also those of yaks as well as bullocks. These have the great advantage that, in addition to forming part of a raft, the skin can be used to transport perishable cargo, such as wool, inside.

The skins are prepared as follows: the animal is killed by a stab in its throat. A small incision is then made inside one of the hind-legs and air is blown in and pummelled round until the skin is separated from the flesh all over the carcass. The head is cut off, and the hind-legs are split. The skin is next drawn forward over the body, remaining whole from loins to neck save for the openings at the ends.

¹ For information respecting inflated skin rafts in other parts of the world, reference should be made to *Water Transport*, chapters 1 and 2, by James Hornell (Cambridge University Press). Page 25 contains a short reference to China.

After the hair or wool has been scraped off, the skin is tied up at the loins, neck and fore-legs, and salt and vegetable oil are poured in. The skin is inflated orally through the orifice at the end of one of the fore-legs. It is turned occasionally so that the salt and oil permeate the whole surface. The neck is tied up with thongs of raw hide, and short sticks are temporarily inserted to assist the process. Each empty ox-skin weighs 30 lb. The skins, salt and oil are all local products.

When the bullock-skins have been fully prepared, they are stuffed with wool and/or tobacco leaf and inflated through the medium of previously inflated goatskins. The legs, pointing upwards, are lashed to the wooden framework of the raft, and the skins are secured to each other by a trailing line passing round each orifice. The weight of the framework of the raft keeps the skins in position.

Rafts are made of various sizes. A small 'one-man' raft, consisting of a hurdle of about 7 feet square with, say, twelve sheepskins attached, will carry six or seven passengers or half a ton of cargo, with a fair degree of safety. Sometimes these small rafts are joined together. Large rafts, called Pi-Fa-Tzü, literally, Skin Method, consist of a number of small rafts in pairs, up to a total of 100 to 200 skins and sometimes as many as 500 lashed together beneath a framework of poles. These rafts are 30-40 feet long with a beam of 10-15 feet. Incidentally, this is the method of transporting telegraph poles for use in Shantung.

Some large rafts are controlled by two or more bow and two stern sweeps. Some of the crew are employed in repairing or renewing the skins when necessary during the voyage. Punctured skins are removed and repaired by patches inside and outside and sewn through. The rafts can be quickly assembled and require no skilled labour to construct. Wood is plentiful in the upper reaches and extremely scarce near the coast.

The rafts are mostly made at Si-ning-Fu in western Kansu, near the borders of Tibet, and are floated down the Si-ning Ho to the Yellow River at Lanchow Fu, the Capital of Kansu, which occupies a central position and is a great commercial town. Here the smaller rafts are often joined together to form larger rafts. From Lanchow Fu the rafts travel to Pao-Tow. On the raft's arrival at its destination the passengers, if any, walk ashore, the wool is removed from the inside of the skins and, with the other cargo on the framework, is discharged for transport by rail to Kalgan or Tientsin. The raft is then dismantled, the framework is sold, and the skins are deflated, dried, packed together in bundles and loaded on to camels for the long journey back up river to Lanchow Fu or Si-ning-Fu. The small rafts are dismantled and the skins packed and carried by one man, who uses his paddle as a carrying pole. A raft's crew usually makes two trips each year, the first in April or May and the other in the autumn, in September or October after the summer floods. Badly damaged skins are discarded and cut behind the fore-legs and a wooden ring sewn in to make a flexible water bucket. The skins do not last long and when condemned are made into sandals.

On the Huang Ho there are no restricting Board of Trade Regulations, no Inspectors and no Acts of Parliament against overloading, nor does the raftman have to consult Stevens on Stowage; he learns from bitter experience. If an accident happens, he is never to blame; Yang Tzu Lao-Yeh, the controller of the waters and spirit of the river, is held responsible.

Seldom does one meet with better examples of human thrift, resource and ingenuity than in the skin rafts that navigate the treacherous waters of the Huang Ho.

G. R. G. WORCESTER

H.M.S. KENT

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 33, pp. 111-12)

In 1946 I tried to reconstruct the appearance of the *Kent*, a steam-ship designed for the Royal Navy by Charles third Earl Stanhope (1753-1816).

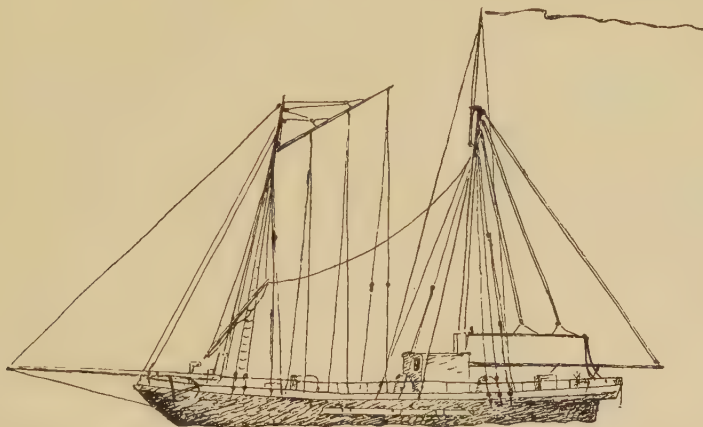
My outline drawings are shown on pages 111 and 112 of *Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. 33, 1947.

Mr Salisbury of our Society, while examining a sketch-book of the marine artist W. Anderson at the Victoria and Albert Museum, noticed one drawing that appeared familiar, which on closer inspection was labelled 'Stanhope'.

He obtained a photograph of the drawing (which is enclosed) and forwarded it to me for identification. Mr Salisbury thinks that it was drawn at Portsmouth in 1796 when *Kent* was certainly there doing sailing trials.

I have examined Anderson's drawing and feel it is of the *Kent*, even the lack of funnel and 'vibrators' would be in keeping with the *Kent* as rigged for sailing.

EDWARD CUFF



Note: the photograph in question is the copyright of the Victoria and Albert Museum to whom acknowledgement is made. This photograph has been accurately copied by Mr Morton Nance, see figure above. (Editor)

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE GROWTH OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY

In *M.M.*, Vol. 42, no. 2 (May 1956) M. S. Anderson refers to Charles Gascoigne who set up a Cannon foundry at Olonets. His departure to Russia was rather more dramatic than 'against the opposition of his associates'.

According to an account of the Carron Company¹ Gascoigne was the son of Captain Woodruffe Gascoigne, an English Officer, of Yorkshire family, serving in Scotland during 'the pacification', and of the Hon. Grizel Elphinstone daughter of Charles 9th Lord Elphinstone. He was taken as a boy into the family of Samuel Garbett a wealthy Birmingham merchant, one of the original proprietors of the Carron Company, and in 1759 married Garbett's daughter. After a time in business in London as a wholesale chemical dealer he established in 1763 a manufacturing business at Carron Wharf under the name of Samuel (later Francis) Garbett and Co. of which he was sole manager.

Before 1769, despite opposition from the other partners, he was taken into the Carron Company.

In 1772 the firm at Carron Wharf failed with liabilities of over £193,000 the greater part of which fell on the Garbett family who were ultimately ruined. Meantime, on the resignation in 1769 of Wm. Caddell, a partner and manager of the Carron Company, Charles Gascoigne had been appointed manager, but by 1779, Samuel Garbett had been forced to leave Scotland; and matters at last became too hot also for Charles who, having had the Russian offer through Admiral Greig—a native of Inverkeithing, not far from Carron—absconded about 1785 to Russia with several of the company's workmen; and, it is said, as much of the company's money as he could lay hands on.

¹ H. M. Cadell *The Story of the Forth* (Maclehose, 1913) at p. 171 *et seq.*; also *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Blackwood, 1845), p. 355, Stirlingshire and Larbert (1842).

There he set up the Cannon foundry at Petrozavodsky near Lake Onega and another iron works near the Black Sea. Many years later he returned to Scotland, but being recognized by his creditors had to flee from near Tynninghame Castle, East Lothian, in a smack to Sweden. He was created a Knight of the Order of St Vladimir, a general in the Russian Army and councillor to the Empress Catherine, and died at St Petersburg in 1806.

In spite of his unsatisfactory relations with the Carron Company, Gascoigne must have been a man of great ability and of an attractive manner; and he had important family connexions. His mother was a sister of Charles, 10th Lord Elphinstone, who was father of the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone afterwards Admiral Lord Keith, so that Gascoigne was a full cousin of Lord Keith. His eldest daughter Anne married in 1786, as his second wife, Thomas, 7th Earl of Haddington, which might explain his presence in East Lothian when he had to flee after his return to Scotland.

A contemporary account¹ states that Captain Woodruffe Gascoigne's family were Baronets of Nova Scotia, and twice describes Charles as *Sir* Charles Gascoigne once as of Abbotshaugh, Stirlingshire. He had two other daughters, one of whom married a Russian Baron. On his first wife's death he remarried in 1797 to the daughter of Matthew Guthrie, physician to the Empress Catherine and Czar Paul.

Of the Carron Company's men who accompanied him to Russia two rose high in the Russian Service. Charles Baird established an iron-works for making guns, steam-engines, etc., at Cronstadt, the Russian Naval Base, and died in 1843, aged 72, as a Knight of St Vladimir; and a Mr Wilson succeeded Gascoigne as manager of the Works in Olonets, became a general in the Russian Army and was still living in 1838.

The author of *The Story of the Forth* was a descendant of one of the original Carron proprietors. His account of Charles Gascoigne, which is partly taken from the *New Statistical Account*, contributed by Lt.-Col. W. Dundas and W. A. Cadell, F.R.S., a son of the original William Cadell, may be biased.

A. H. CROSS

THE LATEEN SAIL

Regarding Mr Percival Kaeyl's note in *M.M.*, May 1956, p. 154.

The Procopius text (*Vandal War*, Vol. 1, p. 13) was mentioned by our member, the late Dr J. Sottas (at a meeting of Le Sabord, if my memory serves me right) in 1927 or 1928. He later published and discussed the Greek text in *M.M.*, Vol. 25, no. 2, April 1939, p. 229. Further comment, involving, *inter alia*, the Morisot version in *Orbis Maritima*, came from L. G. Carr Laughton (see *M.M.*, Vol. 25, no. 4, October 1939, p. 441).

What remains a matter of opinion is the choice between the two hypotheses: (a) Procopius having found the fact worth mentioning suggests that it was then a novelty; or (b) Procopius having been content with barely mentioning the angular shape of the sails, without further comment, suggests that it had long been common practice.

Maybe some careful study of Procopius's book might bring some enlightenment as regards his customary attitude in like cases, and his tendency towards either minimizing novelties or laying stress upon it. Both Sottas and Carr Laughton agreed that they had not undertaken that task. Morisot might prove useful in the same sense, provided one is careful to check his sayings with his original sources.

While in the matter one may recall that several modern authors have mentioned lateen sails in Roman mosaics of the 1st century A.D. My late friend Pierre Paris succeeded in tracing what is probably the origin of these astonishing, if vague, statements. In *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1914, Fasc. 2, p. 100, is a description of the well-known mosaic of the Portico della Corporazione in Ostia. It is said that, in the Cagliari quarter (*Navicul... Karalitani*) is seen a boat with a lateen sail (*una barca attrezzata con vela latina spiegata*). One still wonders what led the Linceian

1 *Douglas Peerage of Scotland*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh, 1813), Vol. 1, pp. 542 and 684.

academician to mention a lateen sail: nothing of the kind is traceable in the ship accompanying the 'Karatitani' inscription, or in any of the Ostia mosaic ships of which I have been able to get photographs.

L. G. LA ROËRIE

FISHING BOAT PROPULSION

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 42, p. 247)

As Mr Woodward suggests, there are two important factors effecting the amount of helm carried with side installations. These are the fact that the propeller is to one side of the centre-line of the boat, and the fact that the shaft is generally at an angle to the centre-line. If we imagine an installation (Fig. 1) in which the shaft is parallel to the centre-line, the first factor only is involved, and the boat tries to turn away from the propeller. If the engine is well forward (Fig. 2), as in some inshore trawlers, so that the shaft-line cuts the centre-line ahead of the centre of lateral resistance, both factors act in conjunction to turn the boat's head away from the propeller. If, however, the engine is well aft, so that the shaft-line cuts the centre-line at a considerable angle abaft the centre of lateral resistance, the thrust tends to push the stern away from the propeller side, so the two factors act in opposition. In extreme cases of the last kind (Fig. 3), the boat tries to turn towards the propeller. In the majority of installations, the two factors are to some degree in opposition, which results in only a light helm being carried one way or the other, it being theoretically possible to have a side installation carrying no helm at all. These effects can most easily be demonstrated by clamping an outboard motor to one side of the transom of a dinghy and noting the boat's behaviour as the horizontal angle between the propeller axis and the centre-line of the hull is varied.

W. A. KING-WEBSTER

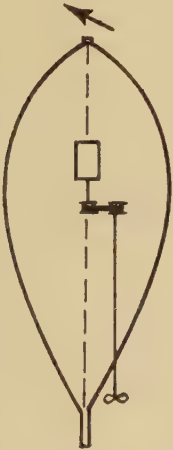


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

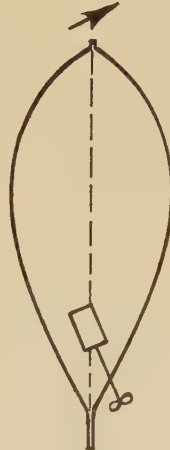


Fig. 3

THE SIDON CARVING. (See Frontispiece)

I am sending a photograph, especially made for the *Mariner's Mirror*, showing a Roman ship sculptured on a relief decorating a sarcophagus found in Sidon and now in the Beyrout Museum. This is certainly the one to which reference is made on page 183 of Vol. 41 of the *Mariner's Mirror*.

Regarding the remark made in this number about the junction of the two spars so closely scarfed together as to make what in outline might appear to be one, the photograph clearly shows that there are two spars—something in the nature of a jib-boom.

ETIENNE SIGAUT

Commenting on the photograph Sig. Rubin de Cervin writes:

‘Undoubtedly this relief must have aroused a great interest when it was first discovered in 1914 by the French archaeologist M. Contenau; at present it is known as the Sidon Carving.

‘Mention of this piece is to be found in various publications such as for instance the *Histoire de la Marine*, ed. L’Illustration, Paris, 1934, p. 34; also M. Settas built from it a scale model which should be on view at the Palais de Chaillot. The French claim that this work, while originating from Syria, must be regarded as depicting a Phoenician ship, an assumption which is open to question, for the craft shows all the features of a Roman cargo vessel of the first century A.D. Besides, Syria since 62 B.C. had fallen under Roman rule, so that this monument may well have been the tombstone of a Roman trader settled in what was then a Colonia Iuris Italici. Any mention of this relief should stretch this point.’

QUERIES

1. (1957.) PREVENTER BRACES. Steel’s *Mastmaking, Sailmaking and Rigging* mentions preventer braces for the fore and main yards and for the fore and main topsail yards but no blocks are listed for them. They were therefore presumably single but I cannot see how they could have worked with no blocks at all.

Steel also quotes additional preventer braces for ‘war only’ for the fore and main yards only, for which four single blocks each are listed.

It therefore seems that on going into action, a ship had on her fore and main yards the normal braces, plus the single (?) preventer braces plus the ‘war only’ braces, i.e. three different sets of braces per yard each side. On the fore and main topsail yards she had the normal braces plus the preventer braces, making two sets of braces to each yard each side.

I would be very grateful for detailed information concerning the lead of each one of the several braces termed preventer and ‘war only’ braces.

Nares’s *Seamanship*, 2nd edition, gives details of the preventer braces fitted to the main yard only and used for rapid working, perhaps as a result of experience gained by the earlier forms of preventers.

C. M. BLACKMAN

2. (1957.) CALENTURE. ‘Sailors delirium in tropics, showing sea as green fields’—so the dictionary interprets the word.

About the year 1898 or so, I boarded a ship brought up off Gravesend. She was with wool from Australia and had made a very slow passage with days of flat calms.

On getting aboard, I was puzzled to see that a large wooden cage had been erected over the main hatch, and that there was a man inside the bars.

He beckoned to me to come to him.

One of the crew whispered to me: ‘He is mad, but he won’t hurt you’,—and explained that the unfortunate man, imagining that the sea was green fields, had jumped overboard for a run ashore.

With the greatest difficulty, they had managed to save him—as he had resisted strenuously, and that the making of a cage to put him in was the only way of preserving his life.

While I was talking to this unfortunate seaman, he was perfectly normal, but very worried as to his future—as, of course, no captain would employ him again.

One wonders if there are any cases of calenture nowadays—or has this form of madness disappeared with the passing of the sailing ship?

F. C. PRIDEAUX NAISH

3. (1957.) STORM SIGNALS. Is it known when the storm-cone as a warning signal was first used? The late Mr H. T. White in his unpublished essay on beacons culls from *Lansdowne MS.* 40, art. 8, the detailed orders of Sir George Carew, Governor of the Isle of Wight, in 1586. The two men at each beacon-station were to have ready a substantial gawre (later gare) for hoisting on sight of a suspicious sail.

This, almost certainly, means a triangular piece of wood (a gore). As a visible mark a cone is definitely an improvement on a triangle, but how far back does the warning cone or triangle run? Is the cone used abroad, and, if so, is it a recent practice, following an English lead?

PERCY RUSSELL

4. (1957.) CABOT'S *MATTHEW*. Is there any authentic picture or description of this vessel in existence?

A well-known painting by Mr Harold Goodridge, now in the Museum in St John's Newfoundland, shows the *Matthew* with a high top-gallant foc'sle: this has been criticized by several experts, who claim that the little ship never had a raised foc'sle and was flush-decked to the bow. Can any reader throw any light on this matter?

A. MACDERMOTT

5. (1957.) Did the Norse Vikings on their ocean voyages, carry a small boat of any kind to facilitate landing men, stores, and animals on rocky shores?

A. MACDERMOTT

6. (1957.) SAILING SHIP STEERING GEAR. It would appear that some clippers were fitted with the steering wheel mounted on a pedestal, for instance *Thermopylae*, also a model of *Norman Court* in the offices of Messrs Baring Bros (her owners) in London.

How did this form of steering gear function?

It would seem to indicate power-operated steering, but surely no clipper was fitted with this.

T. L. WALL

7. (1957.) VICE-ADMIRAL DE COURCY. I would be glad of some information about the career of Vice-Admiral de Courcy, who was in command of the British squadron in South American waters in 1810. When the people of Buenos Aires set up a revolutionary government and declared their independence of Spain, this officer apparently had the foresight and liberal mindedness to give them his tacit co-operation, although Britain was at that time allied with Ferdinand VII of Spain in the war against Napoleon. De Courcy's flagship H.M.S. *Foudroyant* was wrecked at Montevideo in November 1810 in circumstances of which I would also like details if anybody can supply them. This *Foudroyant* must have been the ship which took part in the action in Lough Swilly in 1798 that saw the end of Irish hopes of independence at that time, and the capture of the Irish republican leader Wolfe Tone on board the *Hoche*, Commodore Bompard's flagship. In this action a Captain Michael de Courcy commanded H.M.S. *Magnanime*, but the vice-admiral of 1810 was I think called John.

J. DE COURCY IRELAND

8. (1957.) SALE OF SHIPS, 1327. On 17 March, very shortly after his accession, Edward III ordered Richard de Kenebrok, his clerk, to sell certain ships. This I have noted from the *Syllabus* to Rymer, 240, but by some accident omitted to turn to Rymer himself to see if he gave the names of those ships. It would be of some importance to know them, for it is not easy to discover what ships Edward II had. For example, I have not found in E 101 any mention of the galleys *St George* and *St Edward*, nor of the galliot which was repaired with them at Bayonne in 1320; and, as these three came home to England in May 1320, it is likely that they may have been among those sold in 1327. Probably therefore Edward II had other ships of which we have no record.

L. G. CARR LAUGHTON

9. (1957.) ORIGIN OF NAMES. 'Dogger', 'Dowsing', 'Leman and Owers' (or 'Lemon and Oar'), 'Galloper', 'Shipwash', 'Dudgeon', 'Newarp'—these names, so familiar to many generations of North Sea seamen, how long have they been in existence, and what is the origin of each?

J. DE COURCY IRELAND

10. (1957.) ENGLISH-FRENCH-BELGIAN COMPANY. One of my friends acquired recently an English coloured litho of about 100 years ago, bearing the following caption:

'THE ENGLISH FRENCH AND BELGIAN COMPANY'S ROYAL
MAIL PACKET "EMPRESS"

Luke Smithett. R.N. Commander.-
(Conveying their Imperial Majesties the
Emperor and Empress of the French from
Dover to Boulogne. April 21st. 1855.'

The vessel carries the French flag in front and at the back, on the fore-mast, the personal standard of Napoleon III, and the 'red ensign' on the mizen-mast.

Further to the foregoing, I should appreciate receiving information about the 'English-French-Belgian Company' which was the owner of the vessel Royal Mail Packet *Empress* in 1855.

R. DE BOCK

ANSWERS

1. (1951.) 'PIPE ALL HANDS TO DANCE AND SKYLARK'. The passage in Marryat referred to by Mr Moxly on p. 249 (Vol. 37) is in *Jacob Faithful*, chap. 38. It runs thus: 'every evening the hands were turned up to skylark, that is, to play and amuse themselves'. The game of 'Follow my leader', of which Marryat gives the description, took place when the ship, a frigate, was becalmed some way to the westward of the Canary Islands. Her captain, like C.S.S.'s captain in the *Anglia*, might be described as 'an extremely strict and formal officer', but he encouraged skylarking, and especially the game of 'Follow my leader, as it made the men smart'. It is worth notice that C.G.P.J., in saying 'presumably acrobatics of that sort were not encouraged without permission', and that the pipe was for 'Hands', not for 'All hands', is obviously right, save that Marryat does not say that the order, or rather the *permission*, was piped.

The anonymous author of *The Night Watch*, 1828 (i.e. the year before Marryat's *Frank Mildmay*) describes this game (I, p. 92), but calls it 'Hunt the bear'. Though I have some recollection of having met this name for it elsewhere, I have no other instance of it filed, and cannot say therefore whether, as seems not unlikely, 'Hunt the bear' was an earlier name for the later 'Follow my leader'.

Glascoek entered the Royal Navy in January 1800, and Matthew Barker at a very early age (i.e. about 1800 to 1802) went first to sea in an East Indiaman, whence, seemingly after one voyage, he transferred to the navy; both these men therefore take us some years further back in their recollections than Marryat, who joined in September 1806, Chamier (1808), and Edward Howard, who was a contemporary of Marryat. Instances, if they are available, from these writers, especially from the *Naval Sketch Book* (Glascoek's first book, 1826) or Barker's *Greenwich Hospital* of the same date, might settle the question whether 'Hunt the Bear' is the earlier name of the game.

Under whatever name, it seems likely that the game may have existed at sea from a very early date.

L. G. CARR LAUGHTON

24. (1955.) CAPE HORN. Since the seventeenth century historians and sea-story writers vary in their references to Cape Horn: call it what you will, none of them were wrong.

But having had more than a normal whack of rounding The Horn and shared the endurance demanded in those regions, the Horn in those days was generally referred to contemptuously by my shipmates as 'Cape Stiff'. Believe it or not, none of them were wrong either.

Since, however, the Cape Horn route is now less frequented it is more than likely that the appendages attached to this once dreaded and rugged peak will fade away and be spoken of by its proper name 'Cape Hoorn' (Dutch), anglicized 'Horn'.

I would refer the student to *Pipe all Hands* by 'Sinbad' under the heading 'The Knell of The Horn'.

W. S. DAVENPORT

25. (1955.) SPLICE THE MAIN BRACE. The explanation of this order given in the August issue (p. 260) seems unsatisfactory for two reasons. In the first place 'on the Greek Kalends' was a Latin way of saying 'never', not of referring to something which might possibly be done in exceptional circumstances. This is, perhaps, a mere quibble, but the second objection is more serious. The main brace was not tapered; it was a plain rope running through a block at the yard-arm or, in earlier times, at the end of a pendant. The first recorded instances of the use of the expression belong to the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, and the rigging books of those days, Steel, Darcy Lever, etc., have no suggestion of tapered braces, though they do mention tapered tacks.

R. C. ANDERSON

25. (1955.) SPLICE THE MAIN BRACE. Where is it laid down that braces were tapered? I have never heard of a tapered brace, the length of such a rope would make tapering both impracticable and unnecessary. Tapered single tacks yes, for obvious reasons, but surely not braces! Even supposing they were tapered, any seaman could put in a long splice, which form of splice is specifically designed for splicing running rigging.

Alston's seamanship, on which I was brought up, gives detailed modifications for the finishing of a long splice for 'a large rope, such as the fore brace'.

C. M. BLACKMAN

25. (1955.) SPLICE THE MAIN BRACE. In the interest of *M.M.* readers and new subscribers, it is feared that the explanations given, so far, are grossly misleading.

The main brace of a square-rigged vessel includes a length of rope rove through two single-fall blocks, what is called a 'Spanish Burton'.

To say 'if a main brace is parted it was never spliced but replaced by a new one' would not be compatible with sea lore. Like any other running gear, a long splice is made when and where it is necessary with no exception to the rule.

Vessels on long voyages have recourse to make ends meet—so to speak—in the rope locker in which during the latter end of long journeys the supply of new rope has reached a low ebb.

As to 'tapered rope', this type of cordage was supplied for fore, main and mizen sheets and was *not* used—so far as I know—for braces.

Furthermore, to say 'a long splice would not render freely through the blocks' would reflect sorely on the abilities of any able-bodied seaman of the windjammer era.

Lest it be forgotten, a long splice well made is equal in strength, dimensions and appearance to any other part of the same rope.

W. S. DAVENPORT

29. (1955.) SETTING OF STUNSAILS. Studding sails as opposed to the handling of plain (plane) sails which latter was governed by general usage in seamanship. There was no hard and fast rule in carrying stunsails from the fact, and by my own experience, that the extra pressure of canvas would often result in bad steering.

If, therefore, we are to accept the belief that a vessel under sail 'is a thing in being' responding faithfully to the will of her master, then the questioner may rest assured that the Rouge Marine artist's portal he refers to is correct.

W. S. DAVENPORT

46. (1955.) NAUTICAL DAY AND ASTRONOMICAL DAY. Not only astronomers going afloat had to put up with the, to us, unlogical nautical day and astronomical day but so had every sailor navigating the seas. Whenever a morning sight was taken for longitude the navigator put it down in his log as, say, on Friday 6th, but he had to take the Ephemerides from Thursday 5th in the Nautical Almanac (difference in longitude not included).

The reason for this was that the nautical day as written in the ship's log-book ended when the day's work was done at noon and the ship's run for the preceding 24 hours was ascertained, while the same astronomical day began when the sun passed the meridian and counted as the hour angle of the sun. This mode of dating the nautical day did not end in 1805 but was in use right up towards the end of the last century. As for the astronomical day beginning at noon, the sailor had to put up with it until 1925 when the Nautical Almanac began to count the G.M.T. from midnight.

Before me I have two examples on the nautical day. Both are from the log of the British four-masted barque *Routenburn* of Greenock. In 1883, Captain John S. Crondace, master, on voyage from West Hartlepool towards Cape Town the last day at sea reads as follows:

'Thursday Aug 2nd. Commenced with very light and variable wind, freshening after 8 pm. At 11 pm the Lat by Altair's Merid. alt. was $33^{\circ} 55'$ S. Breeze gradually increasing to a strong breeze. Took in the royals and topgall. sails. At 12,30 am Robben Isl Light E $\frac{1}{2}$ S and Green Pt Light E S E. Halved the main and mizen top sails aback and waited for daylight when we kept away for the bay, shortening sail as we neared the anchorage. At 8 am the Harbour-master came on board who brought the ship to for starb bower with 70 fms cable in the following bearings: Robben Isl Lighthouse N 8° W, Lion's Rump 2 82° W (signalstation) and Mouille Pt N 59° W (all magn.). Took down the royal yards and rigged in the jibboom. At 4 pm the signal was hoisted on the station to let go the second anchor, let go the port anchor veering out 30 fms and on the starb. one to 90 fms. Weather gloomy and rainy. All night one officer and two men kept anchorwatch, riding light strictly attended to. Weather stormy during the night.'

It is clear that this nautical day commenced at noon on the preceding Wednesday 1 August, and because the ship came into port it was continued on Thursday afternoon, thus making 36 hours in the day.

The second example is from 1889, Captain H. Holmyard master, on voyage from London towards Calcutta. The last day at sea reads like this:

'Tuesday June 4th 1889. Moderate Breeze & fine weather. All sail set. 6 am sounded in 32 fths mud. 8 am sounded in 30 fths mud S & Sh. 8,30 Pilot Ridge Light Ship NW by N 4' Noon. Moderate & fine. Position by bearings Eastern Channel Light Ship NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N 10 miles. 0,45 pm Mr Huntby, Pilot, Boarded the Ship when we proceeded under his Orders for the River. 2,30 taken in tow by steam tug *Warren Hastings* & furled all sail. passed the Intermediate Light Ship at 5,30 & came to in Sauger Rds in 7 fths with 60 fths on the port chain. Set officers anchor Watch, wind NE fresh with fine cloudy weather. This log contains 32 hours & ends at 8 pm. Commence Harbour Log. 93 days from the Downs.

S. W. Ash, mate.'

From the above it is clear that the last day at sea had commenced at noon on the foregoing day, and that the mate ended his log when the day's work was finished and the watch set for the night. Apart from this, 93 days from the Downs was a very good voyage.

No doubt a perusal of old log books would bring to light many examples like the above. The nautical day was the practical result of a many-centuries-old method of navigating a ship by fixing her position at noon each day. In the same way the astronomical day was the yet older result of the practice of every observatory of counting the solar day as the sun's (True or Mean) hour angle from its own Meridian. These two days never met, but I do not think any navigator ever mistook the one for the other. They were both distinctly different and both were empirically won results from old practice and as such were accepted without comment. Of course the astronomical day was fully explained in the Nautical Almanac and nautical text-books, and the nautical day sometimes in chapters on day's work, Pilotage and keeping the Log.

SAM SVENSSON

5. (1956.) ROYAL NAVY, RETIRED. In my experience, which dates back for 59 years, no British Flag Officers have their names suffixed either by 'Royal Navy' or 'Retired'. In the Mediterranean during the last war, during such operations as the invasions of Sicily, Italy and Southern France, where forces commanded by British and American Flag Officers were working together, it was usual in writing reports or communiqués to use 'U.S.N.' after the names of the Americans. Whether or not this was correct from their point of view I am not aware.

As regards the abbreviated 'R.N.' it was old John Jervis, Earl of St Vincent (1735-1823), who considered it 'flippant and pert' that any naval officers should use these letters after their names on calling cards. In writing, he invariably used the term 'of His Majesty's Navy'.

The term 'Royal Navy' is properly used to-day on the calling cards of, or in addressing, naval officers of any rank below that of Flag Officer instead of the more commonly used 'R.N.'.

Once in the Royal Navy an officer remains in the Royal Navy until he dies unless dismissed the Service by sentence of Court Martial, and is always liable to recall. Though his name may appear on the Retired List the use of 'Retd.' after his name is incorrect, though if he writes to the Press it is the wish of the Admiralty that he should so designate himself.

TAPRELL DORLING

5. (1956.) 'ROYAL NAVY, RETIRED'. The *Office Instructions for the guidance of Persons serving in the Admiralty* state quite definitely that 'retired officers should *not* be distinguished by the use of the word retired after their name in addressing letters', and elsewhere (I cannot now trace the reference) the Admiralty have pointed out that the 'retired' should only be used when it is necessary to make absolutely clear the exact status of the officer. Nevertheless, some Admiralty departments are extremely careless in this respect, even extending the use of the word 'retired' to officers of the emergency list to whom it does not apply. This seems rather like addressing every woman who has lost her husband as (divorced).

W. E. MAY

10. (1956.) 'FAMILY HISTORY OF THE MUDIES.' Ships' Muster Books are kept at the Public Record Office. There was no Mudie on the books of the *Victory* at Trafalgar.

W. E. MAY

14. (1956.) ST PAUL'S VOYAGE TO MELITA. The seafaring terms of the Acts of the Apostles were probably not exactly those in current use among seamen of the day; the book is generally taken to have been written by Luke, and it has been held that the Greek used was somewhat like the English written by a doctor to-day; turns of speech creep in from medical phraseology—not the actual technicalities, but rather more precisely defined terms than those in common use.

In that event, St Luke would certainly not altogether endorse the sailor's rather loose technicalities; it must be admitted that he does tend to use words 'meaning just what he chooses them to mean, neither more nor less'. Take the very different meanings to be put on 'spritsail', or even on 'ship'.

Paul presumably read Luke's drafts, and probably the facts are largely his, the words Luke's, as the better educated of the pair. Now Paul was, in his unregenerate days, on the fringe of the seafaring community; as a tent-maker in a fairly large seaport he must have had trade contacts with the shipping, and awnings, tarpaulins, even some sails, must have passed under his palm and needle. Luke, so far as we know, was a complete landsman from Philippi.

We may take it, then, that the terms used adequately describe the action taken and materials used, which had been understood, but are not necessarily the 'right' seaman's words, and show up as such through the language barrier.

Could one, with all due deference, suggest some translations or possible emendations of the Greek words? 'Fraping' seems quite clearly the word meant by *ὑποζωννύντες*—passing hawsers under the ship's bottom and wedging or windlassing them really tight in the hopes of keeping the planking together, or at least to minimize leaks.

The *βοήθεια*, one suggests, were the contents of the 'boatswain's bag' which the ideal yachtsman has, painted a distinctive colour and hanging in a carefully laid-down place. In practice, one is sure that there was a great scrabbling by Alexandrine mariners in the stern lockers and bilges to

find the odd lengths of cable, handy billy, crowbars, wedges and bits of wood which comprised the *βοήθειαι*, ships' stores.

One imagines they did in fact let the ship drive under bare poles, in which state she would have been at least as safe as could be contrived by a nearly exhausted crew.

In verse 19, quite obviously no one in his senses would have jettisoned the 'tackling' of the ship, to the exclusion of other things, and 'furniture' does imply the less useful parts of the vessel's equipment, passengers' comforts (probably their own property), and so on. Besides lessening the load, their removal would make things much more comfortable all round for working the ship. Would not 'gear' be a good non-committal word?

As regards τὰ σχοινία, it is suggested the ship was more likely than not to have been towing its dinghy, and that the 'ropes' would have been double painters leading to each quarter of the ship. Why not 'painters'?

A. J. L. HUGHES

14. (1956.) ST PAUL'S VOYAGE TO MELITA. (1) 'They used helps (*βοήθειαι*), undergirding the ship (*ὑποζωννύντες*); and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, they let down the sail-yard (*χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*) and so were driven (*οὕτως ἐφέροντο*).'¹ *βοήθειαι* may be 'supports' in the sense of temporary beams extending transversely across the ship to keep her from being stove in: it may also indicate a form of tourniquet or truss used to tighten the frapping ropes: or it might possibly mean 'help' in a personal sense, i.e. getting all the 'hands' on board to lend a hand in the emergency. The undergirding ropes probably went under the ship, and perhaps they also lashed others horizontally¹ around her.

(2) *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*, 'letting go' or 'loosening' the implements, tackling or stores—a vague term, like 'gear'—seems to connote a complete lowering of the sail (St Jerome has 'summisso vase'); but could it not cover the jettisoning of some of the running rigging?

(3) '... the next day they lightened the ship.' This seems to mean ridding themselves of the cargo.

'... the third day they cast out with their own hands the tackling (*τὴν σκευήν*) of the ship.' If, as suggested above, the running rigging had already gone, *σκευήν*, another very general term, could mean the ship's stores.

(4) 'The shipmen... let down the boat into the sea, under colour, as though they would have cast anchors out of the fore part of the ship:' but, as their real purpose was '... to fly out of the ship... the soldiers cut off the ropes (*τὰ σχοινία*) of the boat and let her fall off.' Four anchors had already been cast out of the stern: it does not look therefore as if the boat had been lashed under the counter. They doubtless had some sort of davit with blocks for hoisting and lowering her; but 'falls' seems too precise a term for what *may* have been no more than a painter.

It seems likely that St Luke was no seaman and simply used such expressions as he heard from the sailors, mingled with his own lubberly equivalents, *σκεῦος* and *σκευήν*, never suspecting that anybody reading his account would be interested enough to wonder just what he meant!

T. C. GERMAIN

14. (1956.) ST PAUL'S VOYAGE TO MELITA. If the questioner will read Acts, chapters 27 and 28 in the *Knox Version of the New Testament in English*, he will find no difficulty with obscure nautical expressions. Everything is made perfectly clear and understandable by the veriest landlubber.

A. MACDERMOTT

15. (1956.) THE ANCHOR. The way of depicting anchors shown in Figs. 1 and 2 on p. 337 of Vol. 42, seems to be a convention peculiar to the illustrator of the Froissart Chronicle MS. in the

¹ This form of undergirding is used in China to this day. On the upper Yangtze in particular up-bound junks, almost invariably, adopt this fore and aft method of giving additional support to the mast.

EDITOR

British Museum. More observant contemporaries show stocked anchors, hanging right way up from the hawsehole, and if these have a ring at the crown it serves for a shank painter, the cable being attached in the normal way to the other ring. The artist had his formula for representing each detail—as for instance a shipload of armed men—and having started with one impossible anchor he must go on with them, adding two at equally impossible hawseholes at the stern. All slope as if held by an invisible rope from the lower ring, although in one, fig. 2, such a rope could lead only to the rudder.

In the portion of the picture covered by Fig. 1 we have what from its apostis and rowers must be a galley; like a galley it has a tilt aft, but instead of a beak it has the forecastle of a ship, its dragon figure-head refined away into hair-strokes. The ships are far away from fact too, with impossibly slender spars and apart from shrouds and stays, including impossible single backstays, they have no rigging. Each of their three masts has a square sail, but a spar like a bowsprit with a stay runs out astern from most of the ships, suggesting that the mizen should have been a lateen and this spar its outlicker. The illuminator was very successful in getting a rich half-heraldic decoration for his page, but he was not a recorder of facts as he had observed them, and his anchors are very wide of the mark.

R. MORTON NANCE

REVIEWS

PICTURE HISTORY OF THE U.S. NAVY. FROM OLD NAVY TO NEW, 1776 TO 1897. By THEODORE ROSCOE and FRED FREEMAN. London: Charles Scribner's Sons, Ltd., 1956. 9 × 12·15 inches; 1200 illustrations from prints and photographs. Price £3. 10s.

This fascinating book, enriched by its many old prints and photographs of ships and men, not to mention reproductions of maps, diagrams and documents, is really a well-illustrated running commentary, almost encyclopaedic, covering the story of the United States Navy from its genesis as the 'Continental Navy' in 1775, until 1897, the year before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. It is full of interest to naval historians and ship lovers; valuable as a book of reference.

It starts with the War of the Revolution, and devotes considerable space to that intriguing and redoubtable character John Paul Jones, popularly known as the 'Father of the American Navy', and includes what is claimed to be the largest collection of pictures of him ever published, even to a rather grisly photograph of his mummified head.

Except to say that he was born in Kircudbrightshire as John Paul in 1747; went to sea at the age of twelve; and obtained a commission in the Continental Navy in 1775, it is unnecessary here to follow his roving career as a thorn in the flesh of the British until his fight in the *Bonhomme Richard* with the *Serapis* off Flamborough Head in September 1779, which made his name famous. France was then America's ally against Britain, and Louis XVI gave him a gold-hilted sword and a decoration. Jones saw no further fighting during the Revolutionary War; but in 1781 entered the Russian service for two years and fought against the Turks in the Black Sea, from which he returned to Paris a disappointed man. Some accounts say that he returned to America in 1787 to receive a vote of thanks from Congress for his services with a gold medal. This book denies that he received any such acknowledgement or even one penny of pay for his exploits in the American Navy. He died in forlorn obscurity in Paris in July 1792.

Over a century passed before he was officially recognized by the United States Government, and in 1899 the American Ambassador in Paris started a systematic search for Jones's remains with the help of the French Government. In 1905, in a Protestant Cemetery on the outskirts of the city, was found an unnamed, sealed leaden casket, originally filled with spirit, containing a mummified body. Inside there was nothing to identify the corpse, though careful autopsy and study convinced the investigators, though not everyone else, that it was that of John Paul Jones.

The remains were taken to the United States by a squadron of American warships, and in April 1906, with due ceremony, were placed in the elaborate sarcophagus in the crypt under the Chapel of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, which I visited in 1939. The corselet of mail worn by him during his fight with the *Serapis* is in the Academy museum nearby, and before entering the Chapel itself one is shown bushes of yew and lavender which came from the rectory at Burnham Thorpe, Nelson's birthplace. In 1947, the two-hundredth anniversary of John Paul Jones's birth, this volume tells us (Item 251), Congress took the unusual step of posthumously awarding him the Navy Medal of Honour which was not established until 1861, sixty-nine years after his death.

The book goes on to sketch the short naval war against the French off the coast of the United States in 1798-99; the naval operations off Tripoli in 1801-4, followed by an ample and well-illustrated section on the war of 1812-15, including the various campaigns and engagements on the Great Lakes.

'From Sail to Steam' starts with Robert Fulton and his steam-floating battery, the *Demologos*, launched at New York, in 1814. A ship of 2475 tons, she had twin hulls joined catamaran fashion by the gun deck, and mounted twenty 32-pounders and two undersea 'submarine guns', which are not described. Propelled by a sixteen-foot paddle wheel set in a channel between the two hulls and driven by a steam-engine and boiler, she is said to have made 5 knots on trial.

America's first steam-paddle frigate, the *Fulton*, speed 11 knots, did not appear until 1840, and a year later was followed by the 1732-ton *Mississippi* mounting ten 8-inch shell guns. The sloop *Michigan*, the first iron-hulled paddler, 8 knots, launched on Lake Erie in 1843 and later renamed *Wolverine* was still afloat in 1950. Is this a record?

The Mexican War of 1842-48; Commodore Perry's visits to Japan in 1853 and 1854; U.S.S. *Portsmouth* at Canton in 1856, all follow in their chronological order and are fully illustrated. To my mind, however, by far the most interesting part of the book is the long section devoted to the naval side of the Civil War, with its many photographs of ships and men, including all the hastily-built improvisations like the monitors, Confederate armoured rams, ferry boats converted into gunboats and so forth. The Confederate mines or 'torpedoes'; the primitive submarines used by both sides; Farragut and the *Hartford*; the *Monitor* and *Merrimack*; the *Kearsage* and the *Alabama* are all illustrated and described.

One most useful feature is a list of all the 'ironclads' possessed by the Union and Confederate Navies during the Civil War and what finally became of them. Some of them had very long lives. To mention a few, the iron 'double-enders' paddler *Monocacy*, 1370 tons, built in 1864, was sold to the Japanese in 1903. I remember her as a neutral in the Peiho River soon after the capture of the Taku Forts in 1900. The monitor *Puritan*, 3265 tons, of 1864, was in service until about 1900, and the 750-ton *Montauk*, of 1862, was not scrapped until 1904. Other Civil War veterans, the monitors *Agamenticus*, renamed *Terror*; *Canonicus* and *Miantonomah*, all built in 1863, were in service until the period of the First World War, though they had largely been rebuilt in the interval.

The book continues with a chart and more photographs of the little-known American naval operations against Korea in 1871, followed by brief descriptions of the earliest submarine built for the U.S.N., late in the Civil War, the *Intelligent Whale*, the trials of which ended in disaster in 1872 after costing 39 lives; and of the torpedo-ram *Alarm*, 800 tons, of the 'seventies, with her three spar torpedoes, in appearance not unlike our British *Polyphemus* of 1881.

There is an interesting section called 'Pacific Showdown' when the Americans were at loggerheads with the Germans at Samoa in 1889. That particular business was more or less settled by the furious hurricane in March of that year, when U.S.S.'s *Trenton*, *Vandalia* and *Nipsic* with the German *Olga*, *Adler* and *Eber* were all driven ashore and wrecked. The photographs of the after-effects of that hurricane are remarkable, though strangely enough the account contains no mention of H.M.S. *Calliope* which alone battled her way to sea at the height of the tempest and managed to survive. Her captain, Henry Coey Kane, had befriended the Americans throughout their imbroglio with the Germans.

After the Civil War the U.S. Navy was allowed to decline. The Americans did not understand what oceanic sea power meant. It was not until the middle 'eighties that its weakness

was realized and a few 'protected cruisers', like the *Atalanta*, *Boston*, *Chicago* and *Newark*, were built and presently joined the fleet. They were ships of between 3000 and 4500 tons, all armed with the modern breechloaders, all fully-rigged, but with a fair turn of speed under engines alone.

By 1893 the U.S. Fleet also contained fifteen light cruisers, all built of steel, including the *Baltimore*, *Charleston*, *Philadelphia*, *Columbia* and *Olympia*. There were also the heavy armoured cruiser *New York*, presently joined by her sister ship *Brooklyn*, and the small battleships *Maine* and *Texas*; the two latter, we are told, built on British design. At that period, too, the Navy had some sixteen torpedo boats, the largest being 185-tonners capable of 27 knots.

As the volume purports to end in 1897, one wishes room could have been found for photographs of the battleships then in existence whose names later became well-known during the Spanish-American War of 1898. For instance, there was the *Maine*, blown up in Havana harbour with the loss of 226 lives on 15 March 1898, an event which exacerbated American public opinion against the Spaniards; the *Oregon*, which steamed from Puget Sound in the Pacific to Key West, Florida, via San Francisco and the Straits of Magellan, a matter of 14,700 miles, in 56 days; the *Iowa*, *Indiana* and *Massachusetts*. All these last four took part in the naval operations off Santiago, Cuba.

But thus to have extended the book might have meant carrying it on to cover the Spanish-American War in its entirety, with a consequent increase in length and price.

There is no doubt that Messrs Roscoe and Freeman have done a magnificent job which provides a most instructive and well-arranged panorama of the United States Navy for 121 years. Would that some philanthropist, with the help of Doctor Oscar Parkes and other experts and sources of information, would do the same for the Royal Navy.

TAPRELL DORLING
(‘TAFFRAIL’)

ABOVE AND UNDER HATCHES. RECOLLECTIONS OF JAMES ANTHONY GARDNER, R.N. Edited by CHRISTOPHER LLOYD. London: The Batchworth Press. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 200 pages; 9 illustrations by Rowlandson and other artists. Price 16s. net.

These recollections have long been well known to members of the Naval Records Society, but in this new edition they are for the first time available to the general reader. Professor Christopher Lloyd of Greenwich College, the editor, has added some new material and notes, and has included several illustrations by Rowlandson and other artists of his time.

Of all the naval autobiographies that have come down to us, that of James Anthony Gardner, if not historically one of the more important, is undoubtedly one of the most entertaining. True, the author saw little of the famous naval battles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though he did serve as a midshipman under Lord Howe in his successful action against the Spanish Fleet for the relief of Gibraltar in 1783, and he gives a lively account of it.

Gardner has little to say about the ways and lives of the men of the lower deck, it was a subject which apparently did not interest him. He writes of the midshipmen's berths, and the wardrooms which he knew, and of the officers and warrant officers (which included surgeons, pursers and so on) with whom he lived and worked; and a rough, hard-drinking, hard-fighting set of ruffians they were for the most part: but, 'a glorious set of fellows', taking them all in all, according to Gardner.

James Anthony Gardner was born at Waterford in 1770, son of Captain Francis Geary Gardner, his mother being an Irish lady of good family, with many Naval connexions.

It was the custom in the eighteenth century for gentlemen's sons destined for the Navy to join some relative's ship, as captain's servant, i.e. one of the commanding officer's personal followers.

In this capacity young Gardner was entered on board his father's ship the *Baveas*, 28, at the age of 5: this was to ensure that he should get in the sea-time necessary for promotion to Lieutenant. He was, as a matter of fact, entered on the books of no less than three different ships, just to make sure!

Later on he spent a year or so at the Naval Academy at Gosport, a private school, afterwards known as Dr Burney's Royal Academy, and *not* to be confused with the Royal Naval Academy in Portsmouth Dockyard. During Doctor Burney's time, and after, the scholars—from their fighting propensities—were known in Gosport as 'Burney's Bulldogs'. This nickname, originally intended as a term of opprobrium, later became highly prized by old Burney's boys, and is so to this day; though the old school has passed out of existence this 50 years and more.

In 1782 Gardner was rated midshipman and went to sea in the *Panther*, 60. He gives a vivid description of the midshipmen's berth and its occupants.

The midshipmen of those days were divided into Youngsters, i.e. boys in their teens, and Oldsters, who might be of any age up to 50. These latter were for the most part men who had failed to pass the lieutenant's examination and had little or no hope of advancement.

Other authors, such as Smollett, have portrayed and caricatured naval officers of the eighteenth century; but many of the characters with whom Gardner served suggest that the old writers did not unduly exaggerate.

The berth which the Young Gentlemen (a name which covered all subordinate officers, from 13 to 50 years of age) occupied, was about 10 feet long by 8 feet wide, with 5 feet 5 inches head-room between decks, and was situated in the orlops below the lower gun-deck; a space, as a rule, infested with rats and cockroaches.

Gardner served in many ships, and saw service in the last years of the American War of Independence, and afterwards in the West Indies, the Irish, and the Home Stations. In 1795 he passed for lieutenant.

In 1783 Gardner was appointed midshipman of the *Salisbury*—'this old devil of a ship'—flying the flag of Vice-Admiral John Campbell, F.R.S., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Newfoundland, and sailed soon after, arriving at St John's in July of the same year. The Naval Governors of the Old Colony, as it is still affectionately called by Newfoundlanders, generally arrived in the island about June or July each year and left again for England at the end of October. In 1783 the Admiral having given permission for anyone who wished to bring home a dog, no less than seventy-five were embarked, of which eight were billeted on the mess occupied by Gardner and five companions.

The greater part of the ship's company of the *Salisbury* were Irish and notable fighters both ashore and afloat. One redoubtable Hibernian was 7 feet high and was the terror of Plymouth Dock. In a ship with a bare 5½ feet head-room, this unfortunate giant must have almost walked on all fours between decks. In another ship, the *Berwick*, two-thirds of her people were Irish. The speaking of Gaelic was frowned upon (*vide*, Lord St Vincent's Fleet Orders).

There is mention in the 'Recollections' of Several Courts Martial. At one, the surgeon, a Mr Wardrope, was sentenced to death for having beaten two lieutenants. And the said lieutenants were dismissed the Service for having allowed themselves to be beaten!

Of the drinking propensities of his mess-mates Gardner instances one Mr Quinton, the mate, who would drink twenty-six tumblers of Hollands gin and water in a day, yet, 'was no drunkard, and I never saw him disguised in liquor. In those good old days we never sported Cockney gin'. Nor did we in this writer's time. It was Plymouth gin or nothing in the Royal Navy.

Another notable character was Jerry Hacker the purser, who lived miserably by himself in the cockpit, and corned beef in his wash basin, and in another utensil. He lived in constant dread of being attacked and robbed, and loathed all midshipmen. Gardner was involved in the Mutiny at Spithead in April 1797, and together with his captain, Bazely, and several other officers was sent out of his ship, the *Hind*, by the mutineers. He never rejoined her. Gardner was retired on half pay in 1814, and was made a Commander in 1830. He died in Peckham in 1846 aged 76 years.

A. MACDERMOTT

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